A NEW

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND,

FROM THE

DESCENT of the ROMANS,

TO THE

DEMISE of his late Majesty, GEORGE II.

INSCRIBED TO

His present Majesty, GEORGE III.

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HISTORY *is philosophy teaching by examples.*

Bolingbroke *from* Dion. Hali.

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THE
History of ENGLAND.

The HISTORY *of* HENRY VI. *continued.* A. D. 1437.

THIS concurrence of unfavourable circumſtances contributed greatly to diſcourage the troops of Flanders, compoſed chiefly of raw and undiſciplined militia; and when they heard that the duke of Glouceſter was advancing to Calais, their camp was filled with mutiny and confuſion. Seized with a ſudden panic, they ſtruck their tents of their own accord, and betook themſelves to a preci-

pitate flight, notwithstanding all the remonstrances and intreaties of the duke, who finding himself unable to resist the torrent, was obliged to follow them in their route, and to leave behind him all his baggage, artillery, and ammunition.

Nor was this the only loss that Philip sustained. Hardly had he returned to his own dominions, when the towns of Flanders revolted against him. He was even in danger of losing his life in a sedition at Bruges, after having seen the mareschal l'Isle Adam torn in pieces by the furious populace.

Mean while, the duke of Gloucester taking advantage of these insurrections, overran Artois, Flanders, and Hainault; from whence he carried off twelve hundred waggons loaded with booty; and from this time the duke of Burgundy's attention was so much engrossed with his own affairs, that he was not in a condition to afford any considerable succours to Charles.

Though the beginning of the year was so extremely cold, that the generals of both sides could not attempt any enterprize of importance, the brave and indefatigable Talbot found means to turn the uncommon rigour of the season to the advantage of his country.* He collected a body of troops, and

* A. D. 1437.

and having dreſſed ſome of them in white apparel, they crept into the dyke of Pontoiſe, without being obſerved by the garriſon, who could not diſtinguiſh them from the ſnow with which the ground was covered.

Mean while the reſt of the troops advanced to the place in the dark, in order to ſupport their companions, who mounting their ſcaling-ladders at the time when the garriſon relieved the watch at day-break, made their way into the town, and opened the gates for Talbot, who ruſhed into the place on one ſide, while the enemy fled with equal hurry on the other.

The loſs of this place gave a ſevere blow to the affairs of Charles, and greatly diſtreſſed the Pariſians, who ſaw the Engliſh garriſon make daily incurſions to the very gates of their city.

The duke of Burgundy had good reaſon to be alarmed at the progreſs of the Engliſh arms. His behaviour to that people had been ſo extremely exceptionable, that, ſhould they ever recover their former footing in France, they would probably make him feel the effects of their ſevereſt vengeance. He therefore reſolved to exert his utmoſt effects to avert the impending danger.

With this view he endeavoured to arouze Charles from that habit of ſloth and inactivity in which he had hitherto indulged: he aſſured him, that if he would conſult his own glory and intereſt ſo far as to collect his forces, and advance at their head towards Paris, in order to expel the Engliſh from the heart of the kingdom, he would do all that lay in his power to ſecond his attempt, by making a powerful diverſion in Picardy.

This exhortation produced the deſired effect. He immediately aſſembled his forces; and, in his march to Paris, laid ſiege to Montereau-faut-yonne, while the duke of Burgundy ſat down before Crotoy, a ſtrong place in Picardy. It was inveſted by a numerous land-army, while the harbour was blocked up by four large French veſſels.

The duke of York, being at that time obliged to return to England, on account of the intrigues of Somerſet, ſent Talbot to the relief of the place, with a body of five thouſand men; and that brave officer undertook the taſk, though the Burgundian army was five times as numerous as his, and he was under a neceſſity of croſſing the river Somme in the face of the enemy.

The duke being apprized of his approach, left part of his army to proſecute the ſiege, and with the remainder took poſt on the bank

bank of the river, to oppoſe the paſſage of the Engliſh, who were enraged againſt him to ſuch a degree, that in order to gratify their revenge, they were willing to encounter any danger.

Talbot, availing himſelf of this diſpoſition, was the firſt man who ruſhed into the ſtream, and they followed him with ſuch intrepidity, that the Burgundians, believing they were devils rather than men, betook themſelves to a precipitate flight; and the troops who were engaged in the ſiege, being ſeized with the ſame panic, the whole army diſperſed, in ſpite of all the remonſtrances of their leader. Talbot entered the town in triumph, demoliſhed the works of the beſiegers, ſubdued five or ſix places in Picardy, recovered Tancarville, and returned to Roüen, covered with glory.

Mean while Charles continued to puſh the ſiege of Montereau, which was bravely defended by Thomas Gerard, though his garriſon hardly amounted to four hundred men. Hitherto Charles had not been remarkable for his perſonal courage; but on this occaſion he performed ſuch notable exploits as equally ſurprized his friends and his enemies.

He not only expoſed himſelf like the meaneſt ſoldier in his army; but when, after a long ſiege, the place was taken by ſtorm,

ſtorm, he was one of the firſt who entered the breach ſword in hand, and fought ſingly with undaunted courage. By his bold and reſolute behaviour in this aſſault he recommended himſelf greatly to the eſteem of his ſubjects, which, however, he did not take care to preſerve; for, when Gerard retired to the caſtle, the king relapſed into his former inactivity, and left the conduct of this ſecond ſiege to his ſon the dauphin.

The Engliſh commander, after having defended himſelf with incredible reſolution for the ſpace of fifteen days, was at laſt obliged to capitulate. When he came into the preſence of the dauphin, he told him with great politeneſs, that againſt any other beſieger he ſhould have made a longer reſiſtance; a compliment which, however agreeable to the young prince, gave great offence to his father, who, from that day, began to entertain a jealouſy of his ſon, which, in the ſequel, was productive of the moſt pernicious conſequences.

From Montereau Charles directed his march to Paris, which, now for the firſt time ſince it had been recovered by his troops, he entered in triumph amidſt the ſhouts and acclamations of the people, who rejoiced to ſee their prince reſtored to his capital, from which he had been ſo long expelled by the ſedition of his ſubjects and the

the arms of his enemies. His firſt care was to re-eſtabliſh the parliament and the courts of judicature, and confirm all the privileges of the city.

But this happy calm was of ſhort continuance. The great multitudes of people who attended the court to Paris, not only occaſioned a dearth, but likewiſe produced a terrible peſtilence, which prevailed to ſuch a degree, that the king and the royal family were in a few days obliged to quit the city, which ſoon became a ſcene of horror and deſolation; ſo that the wolves, and other beaſts of prey, prowled along the ſtreets, and fed upon the dead, or devoured the living.

The French war, which was ſo tedious and expenſive, had exhauſted England in ſuch a manner, that the council was always diſpoſed to hearken to every propoſal of peace; and as the duke of Orleans had no other hope of recovering his liberty, he reſolved, if poſſible, to effect an accommodation.

For this purpoſe, he deſired leave to go over to Calais, and confer with the duke of Brittany, whom he conſidered as the moſt proper perſon to be employed as mediator. The council would willingly have granted his requeſt, had they been perſuaded that Charles was ſincerely inclined to a reaſonable

able peace; but, until they ſhould be more fully aſcertained of his inclinations, they did not chuſe to make any advances, eſpecially as the duke of Glouceſter declared againſt the intended negociation, on pretence that no advantageous peace could be made at ſuch a period; though his real deſign was to thwart the cardinal, who had ſeconded the propoſal of the duke of Orleans.

The animoſity between theſe two noblemen was become the more inveterate, as the prelate began to gain an aſcendant over his antagoniſt, in proportion as the king advanced in years. Poſſeſſed of greater riches than any other ſubject in England, he was always able to furniſh Henry with ſupplies of money, on every emergency; and, by this and ſeveral other means, he ſo engaged the king's affections, that he granted him a general pardon for all crimes, of whatever nature, of which he might have been guilty, from the creation of the world down to the twenty-eighth day of June in the current year; ſo that he was effectually ſecured againſt all the attacks of his enemy.

The plague raged with ſuch uncommon violence, both in France and England, that the generals, for want of proper reinforcements, could undertake no enterprize of any

any importance. The duke of Burgundy, chagrined at his miſcarriage before Calais, reſolved, if poſſible, to retrieve his honour by making himſelf maſter of that place.* With this view he cut a dyke, through which he imagined the town would be ſuddenly overflowed with water; and, amidſt the terror and confuſion occaſioned by that unexpected calamity, he propoſed to enter the place ſword in hand; but the town being higher than the ſea, the experiment happily did not ſucceed. Diſappointed in this attempt, he inveſted Guiſnes; from whence, however, he was ſoon compelled to retire by the earl of Huntingdon, who had lately arrived with a body of troops from England.

This year was diſtinguiſhed by no other event, except the exchange of the count d'Eu, who had been taken in the battle of Agincourt, for John Beaufort, brother to Henry duke of Somerſet, whom he ſucceeded in that title; and he dying without iſſue, the dukedom devolved upon his fourth brother Edmund, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to make mention in the ſequel.

In the month of March, the conſtable Richemont, having collected a conſiderable body of troops, laid ſiege to the city of Meaux,

* A. D. 1438.

Meaux, one of the ſtrongeſt places in France, which had formerly reſiſted all the efforts of Henry V. for the ſpace of ſeven months.* It was now defended by the baſtard of Han, an officer of diſtinguiſhed abilities; but, notwithſtanding all his courage and conduct, it was at laſt taken by ſtorm, and the governor made priſoner in the action.

The garriſon took ſhelter in the part called the market-place, which is on the other ſide of the Maine, and broke down the bridge of communication; ſo that the conſtable was obliged to undertake a new ſiege, more difficult than the former. Mean while, he ordered the governor to be beheaded, becauſe, though a Frenchman, he had engaged in the ſervice of England.

Then he ſurrounded his camp with lines of circumvallation, fortified with redoubts, to hinder the enemy from relieving the place; and the king himſelf repaired to the ſiege, that his preſence might encourage the ſoldiers to exert their utmoſt endeavours. Notwithſtanding theſe precautions, Talbot determined to relieve the beſieged. Putting himſelf at the head of a ſmall body of men, he advanced towards the French lines, and, taking by aſſault one of the redoubts

* A. D. 1439.

doubts that obſtructed his paſſage, forced his way into the town with a large convoy.

Next day he ſallied out, in the ſame manner, while the enemy were confounded at the boldneſs of the action, and reſolved to throw in another more conſiderable ſupply; but, before he could effect his purpoſe, the conſtable, provoked at the affront he had received from ſuch an handful of Engliſh, puſhed the ſiege with ſuch vigour and impetuoſity, that the garriſon were obliged to capitulate.

Encouraged by this ſucceſs, he formed the ſiege of Avranches, which he had continued for three weeks, when Talbot, with the troops deſigned for the relief of Meaux, attacked him in his lines, and ſupplied the place with proviſions. After this exploit, he directed his march towards Harfleur; and, as he had not a ſufficient number of troops to inveſt the town in form, he determined to reduce it by blockade.*

With this view he intrenched himſelf in ſuch an advantageous manner, that he could not have been diſlodged by an army of fifty thouſand men; while the place was blocked up by ſea with a fleet of ſhips, commanded by the duke of Somerſet.

* A. D. 1439.

The count d'Eu, who had lately returned from his captivity in England, approached the Engliſh camp with a ſtrong body of troops; but finding it altogether impregnable, he thought proper to retire after a ſlight attempt, in which Gaucour fell into the hands of the Engliſh. After a blockade of four months, Talbot made himſelf maſter of the place: then he proceeded to reduce all the petty caſtles which the French poſſeſſed in the reſt of Normandy, until the whole province was ſubdued, except the town of Dieppe.

While the generals were thus employed in taking and retaking towns, the ſenſible part of both nations lamented the continuance of the war, which they ſaw protracted without the leaſt proſpect of a concluſion.

The pope ordered the cardinal de Santa Cruz, to exhort the two kings, in his name, to put a ſtop to the effuſion of Chriſtian blood, of which ſuch a deluge had been ſhed in the courſe of their quarrel; and, at the ſame time, his holineſs wrote to the duke of Brittany, beſeeching him to mediate a peace between the contending parties.

That prince having acquainted both kings with the contents of the pope's letter, found them equally inclined to renew the nego-

negociation; and the duke of Burgundy was glad of a propoſal which would either terminate in a ſolid peace between the two nations, or would furniſh him with a pretext for concluding a ſeparate agreement with the Engliſh, from whoſe reſentment he had every thing to fear.

The duke of Orleans took this opportunity to offer his mediation, in conjunction with that of the duke of Brittany; and again deſired permiſſion to confer with that prince at Calais. In this he was indulged, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the duke of Glouceſter, who plainly ſaw that Orleans would never act as an impartial mediator. But, by this time, Glouceſter had loſt all his influence in the Engliſh council; and the members were ſo deſirous of peace, that they had either forgot, or affected to forget, the fallacious promiſes which they had received from Orleans, when he perſuaded them to ſend ambaſſadors to the conference at Arras.

The two courts being thus favourably diſpoſed, commiſſioners were appointed to ſettle the preliminary articles; and theſe meeting agreed, that the negociation could not poſſibly ſucceed without a ſuſpenſion of arms. Henry, accordingly, empowered his agents to conſent to a truce, which, however, did not take effect.

In the month of January, Iſabel of Portugal, dutcheſs of Burgundy, and the cardinal of Wincheſter, had an interview between Calais and Gravelines, where they agreed that the negociation between the two crowns, ſhould be conducted under the mediation of the dukes of Brittany and Orleans; and the plenipotentiaries, on each ſide, were choſen from the princes of the blood, and the chief noblemen of both kingdoms.

The inſtructions of the Engliſh ambaſſadors were ſo full and explicit, and the conceſſions they were empowered to make, were ſo favourable to Charles, that there is no reaſon to queſtion the ſincerity of Henry's council; and, if the envoys had not been too backward in explaining the extent of their reſpective powers, a peace, in all probability, might have been eaſily effected. But they were ſo much afraid of diſcovering any part of their inſtructions that might tempt the enemy to riſe in their demands, that the conferences broke up before they could come to a right underſtanding.

The Engliſh did not chuſe to go beyond the ſecond article of their inſtructions, which allowed them to propoſe, that Charles ſhould enjoy the provinces on the other ſide of the Loire, on condition of doing homage to Henry; and the French reſtrict-

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ed their conceſſions to the propoſal made in the congreſs at Arras, implying, that their maſter ſhould remain ſole and abſolute king of France, and ſhould yield to Henry the provinces of Guienne and Normandy, provided he would agree to do homage for thoſe territories to the French monarch.

At the ſame time, they took occaſion to extol the condeſcenſion of their ſovereign, who, notwithſtanding his late conqueſts, and even the recovery of his capital, had ſtill continued ſo moderate in his demands.

But it was abſolutely impoſſible, that peace could be concluded while both kings inſiſted on theſe terms; for neither of them would yield any thing that was in his power, though each expected that the other ſhould reſign what he actually poſſeſſed. Accordingly, after the ambaſſadors had exerted their utmoſt ſagacity and penetration, in order to diſcover the extent of each other's powers, they parted without coming to any agreement, each ſide being determined to wait until the other would propoſe more reaſonable terms.

The dukes of Burgundy and Orleans were the only perſons who derived any advantage from this congreſs. The former found means, by employing the good offices of his dutcheſs, who was nearly related to king Henry, to conclude a commercial truce

between England and the Low Countries, which contributed much to the intereſt of his ſubjects; and the latter had the good fortune to recover his liberty, after a captivity of five and twenty years.

We have already remarked, that the cardinal had gained an entire aſcendency over the mind of the young king, who, being naturally of a weak capacity, and jealous diſpoſition, was eaſily induced to believe that the duke of Glouceſter deſigned to keep him in perpetual dependance, and even raiſed his ambitious views to the throne itſelf. Influenced by this prejudice, Henry had conceived a violent averſion to his uncle, and conſtantly oppoſed every propoſal which the duke made in council.

This nobleman had always declared againſt the releaſe of the duke of Orleans, not only from a regard to the dying command of his late brother, but alſo from a perſuaſion, that, in ſetting the duke of Orleans at liberty, they would encreaſe the enemies of England. Glouceſter's oppoſition was of more ſervice to Orleans, than all the power and intereſt of his friends, or the largeneſs of the ſum he offered for his ranſom.

He was allowed to aſſiſt at the congreſs; and, when the conferences were opened, he diſcovered a ſtrong inclination to effect an agree-

agreement. By the means of the dutcheſs of Burgundy, he compromiſed his diſputes with the duke her huſband; and the cardinal, at his return to England, gave ſuch a favourable account of his conduct, that the council were greatly prepoſſeſſed in his favour.

His friends took care to improve this diſpoſition: they inſiſted upon the two arguments which have already been mentioned in his behalf; namely, that his difference with the duke of Burgundy might probably be renewed, and perhaps be attended with great advantages to England; and that, in any event, his ranſom would help to defray the expences of the war.* They propoſed, however, that before his releaſe, he ſhould take an oath to the king, and ſwear that he would never do any thing to the prejudice of England.

The duke of Glouceſter, finding that the council was reſolved to treat with Orleans about his enlargement, thought proper to enter a proteſt, to the following purpoſe: that, conſidering the weakneſs of Charles and his ſon the dauphin, and the great abilities of the duke of Orleans, it was more than probable that the ſtates of France would beſtow upon him the adminiſtration of

* A. D. 1440.

of affairs; an event which, ſhould it take place, would be extremely detrimental to the intereſt of England, as that nobleman was but too well acquainted with the weak parts of this government and kingdom: that, in all likelihood, the duke of Orleans would effect an agreement between Charles and the dauphin; by which means England would be deprived of all the advantages ſhe might otherwiſe reap from that diſſenſion: that the duke, having already owned Charles for his ſovereign, could not poſſibly take an oath to Henry, without laying himſelf under the neceſſity of breaking one or other of theſe obligations; and that, therefore, he would naturally adhere to the firſt rather than the laſt, which he would always conſider as involuntary, and extorted during his captivity; and which, indeed, he could not keep without forfeiting his title and eſtate: that he could not give any ſecurity to indemniſy the Engliſh, in caſe he ſhould break his oath, on pretence of obeying the abſolute commands of his ſovereign: that the accommodation lately made at Calais, between the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, ſeemed rather to forebode a conjunction of their power and intereſt againſt the Engliſh, than a diſſenſion which might prove advantageous to his majeſty: that if, in the courſe of the war, any Engliſh noblemen

ſhould

ſhould happen to be taken priſoners in France, four or five of them might eaſily be be exchanged for the duke of Orleans, by whoſe releaſe this advantage would be entirely loſt: that, ſhould the enlargement of that nobleman be followed with the loſs of all the Engliſh conqueſts in France, the people would exclaim, and perhaps wreak their vengeance upon the king's counſellors, who adviſed a meaſure by which his majeſty had been robbed of all the glory and advantage purchaſed at the expence of the late king's life, and of the lives of the dukes of Clarence, Bedford, and ſuch an infinite number of princes, nobles, and gentlemen, as had died or fallen in France, ſince the commencement of the war: and, finally, that the late king, apprehenſive of the danger that would ariſe from the releaſe of the duke of Orleans, had, with his dying breath, recommended the detention of that prince, until a ſolid peace could be effected.

Such were the principal articles of the proteſt entered by the duke of Glouceſter, who humbly deſired his majeſty would cauſe it to be enrolled; and that a copy of it, authenticated by the great ſeal, ſhould be put into his hands, that it might ſerve to juſtify his conduct on any future occaſion. In this particular, he was indulged by the king; but his proteſt did not hinder the

council

council from purſuing the reſolution they had taken in behalf of the duke of Orleans.

The articles relating to his enlargement were ſigned and ſealed, by both parties, on the ſecond day of July; and he obtained his liberty on much eaſier terms than thoſe he had voluntarily offered before the conference at Arras. He was neither bound to own Henry as king of France, nor to put into his cuſtody the towns he had formerly offered as a ſecurity for the performance of his engagements. His word and oath were thought ſufficient for the payment of his ranſom; which was fixed at one hundred and twenty thouſand crowns.

He agreed, indeed, to pay one half of the ſum before he ſhould leave England, and give the obligations of the dauphin, the duke of Bretagne, and ſome other princes, for the payment of the reſt, immediately after his enlargement. He further engaged to deliver to his majeſty, letters patent from king Charles, authorizing this agreement, and promiſing to hold the duke of Orleans as baſe and infamous, ſhould he ever infringe the articles of his contract.

Nevertheleſs, before his departure from England, he aſſured the council, that he could not raiſe the firſt moiety of his ranſom,

ſom, unleſs they would allow him to viſit his eſtate in France; and accordingly he was permitted to abſent himſelf a whole year on that account. Every thing being thus ſettled to the ſatisfaction of both parties, the duke of Orleans ſet ſail for the Continent, and on the twelfth day of November was met by the duke of Burgundy, whoſe niece, Margaret of Cleves, he eſpouſed at St. Omer, according to a private agreement between him and Philip.

Nor was the duke of Orleans's releaſe the only triumph which the cardinal gained over his antagoniſt the duke of Glouceſter: he ſoon ſhewed the ſuperiority of his intereſt on another affair of greater importance.* He had always ſeconded every propoſal of accommodation with France, and enforced his opinion with various arguments which were more ſpecious than ſolid.

He alledged, that, as matters were then ſituated, it was utterly impoſſible for the Engliſh to extend their conqueſts in that kingdom, or even to retain thoſe which they had already made. The parliament, he obſerved, was extremely backward in granting ſupplies for the maintenance of the war: the Engliſh affairs in Normandy were involved in the utmoſt diſorder and confuſion: the power

* A. D. 1443.

power of the French king was daily becoming more formidable by the acquisition of some town, or the advantage in some battle: and from all these circumstances he inferred, that it was absolutely necessary to stop the progress of the enemy's arms by a temporary suspension of hostilities, which might allow the English time to recruit their spirits, and retrieve their ruined fortunes.

The duke of Gloucester, naturally bold and ambitious, could not relish these dilatory measures; he could not be persuaded to resign all hopes of prevailing over France; nor could he patiently endure to see his own advice over-ruled by the superior power and interest of his rival.

But all his opposition had no effect; the earl of Suffolk, a nobleman blindly attached to the cardinal's party, was sent to Tours, in order to treat with the French ministers. After several conferences it was found impossible to settle the terms of a final accommodation; but a truce was made for about two years, during which every thing was to continue on its present footing.

The disorder and confusion which then prevailed in the French government, and which only could be rectified by an interval of peace and tranquillity, inclined Charles to assent to this truce; and the same motives

tives afterwards prompted him to agree to its prolongation.

The earl of Suffolk having executed this part of his commiſſion, proceeded to finiſh another affair, for which, it is pretended, he had full inſtructions, but which, in fact, ſeems rather to have been implied than expreſſed in the powers with which he was veſted.*

This was no other than chuſing a queen for his ſovereign; a point of far greater conſequence than the reader will, at firſt, be apt to imagine. Henry himſelf was endued with ſuch a weak underſtanding and ſuch a ſoft and gentle temper, that he was eaſily led by thoſe who happened to gain his affection.

The court was divided into two parties, that of the cardinal, and that of the duke of Glouceſter; and though the former had gained an aſcendant over the latter, the ſuperiority was not ſo great but that it might be eaſily deſtroyed, and even the ballance caſt upon the other ſide by the intereſt of a queen, provided ſhe was a woman of capacity and addreſs.

Each party, therefore, was extremely deſirous of having the honour to provide their prince with a conſort, as it was more than

* A. D. 1444.

probable that this circumstance would for ever decide the victory between them. The duke of Gloucester recommended a daughter of the count d'Armagnac; but he had not credit to accomplish his purpose.

The cardinal and his friends had cast their eye on Margaret of Anjou, daughter of Regnier, nominal king of Sicily, Naples, and Jerusalem, descended from the count of Anjou, brother of Charles V. who had bequeathed these pompous titles to his posterity without any real power or possessions.

Margaret was endued with all the qualifications which could render her a proper consort for a prince of Henry's character. Possessed of a handsome person and lively wit, she was likely to gain an entire ascendant over his affections; and blessed with a solid judgment and a quick apprehension, she would be the more able to supply the defects and weakness of her husband.

Accordingly, the earl of Suffolk, in concert with his friends in the English council, made proposals of marriage to Margaret, who readily embraced the offer.

This, indeed, was an honour which she had little reason to expect; for though she was qualified by her birth and accomplishments to be a spouse to any prince in Europe; yet as she was entirely destitute of the goods

of

of fortune, ſhe could hardly hope to find ſuch a rich and powerful huſband as the king of England.

Suffolk, therefore, might naturally conclude, that in being the means of raiſing her to ſuch an exalted rank, he had effectually ſecured her favour and affection. Nor was this the only method he employed to ingratiate himſelf with her and her family; he even ventured, without any direct authority from the council, but probably with the connivance of the cardinal and the ruling members, to engage by a ſecret article, that the province of Maine, which at that time was in the hands of the Engliſh, ſhould be ceded to Charles of Anjou her uncle, who was prime miniſter and favourite of the French king, and who had already received from his maſter a grant of that dutchy.

The duke of Glouceſter was no ſooner informed of theſe imprudent proceedings, than he exerted his utmoſt endeavours in order to defeat the intended match; but, in ſpite of all his oppoſition, the contract was ratified at London; Suffolk was dignified with the title of marquis, and even received the thanks of parliament for concluding the marriage.*

* A. D. 1445.

As ſoon as Margaret arrived in England, ſhe entered into a cloſe correſpondence with the cardinal of Wincheſter, and the dukes of Somerſet, Suffolk, and Buckingham, who ſtrengthened by her friendſhip, and animated by their common hatred againſt the duke of Glouceſter, reſolved to effect the ruin of that worthy and patriotic nobleman.

Glouceſter, baffled in all his attempts for the good of the public, and vexed at the growing power of his enemies, had already received a moſt cruel mortification, which though he had hitherto borne with great patience, it was abſolutely impoſſible for a man of his high ſpirit and generous diſpoſition entirely to forget.*

His dutcheſs, the daughter of Reginald, lord Cobham, had been charged with the crime of witchcraft; and it was alledged, that a waxen image of the king was found in her cuſtody, which ſhe and her accomplices, Sir Roger Bolingbroke a prieſt, and one Margery Jordan of Eye, melted in a magical manner before a ſlow fire, in order that the king's ſtrength and vigour might waſte away by the like inſenſible degrees.

This accuſation was well fitted to make an impreſſion upon the weak and timorous mind of the king, and to gain belief in an igno-

* A. D. 1446.

ignorant and credulous age: the dutcheſs and her accomplices were brought to trial: the nature of the crime, ſo inconſiſtent with all the dictates of common ſenſe, ſeems ever to have exempted the accuſers from obſerving the rules of common ſenſe in giving their evidence: upon the teſtimony of two other prieſts, who had found means to inſinuate themſelves into the cabal, and who ſwore ſolemnly to the circumſtance of the image, the priſoners were declared guilty: the dutcheſs was ſentenced to do public penance for three days ſucceſſively, by walking barefoot and bareheaded, with a wax taper in her hand, through the ſtreets to St. Paul's church; and then to be impriſoned for life: and ſeveral of her confederates were capitally puniſhed.

The duke's enemies hoped, that this public diſgrace would either ruin his popularity, or provoke him to take ſome ſtep againſt the government, which might furniſh them with a handle for accuſing him of high-treaſon: but they were happily deceived in their expectation. Glouceſter was ſo firmly attached to the perſon and intereſt of his nephew, that no provocation could ſhake his loyalty: he bore his injuries with the utmoſt patience and reſignation; and the diſgrace of his wife, inſtead of deſtroying

his credit with the people, ſerved only to incenſe them againſt his adverſaries.

Wincheſter and his party finding themſelves diſappointed in this attempt, reſolved to have recourſe to a more certain and ſanguinary method of accompliſhing their purpoſe; and by a ſecret and violent death to rid themſelves of a man, whoſe popularity might prove dangerous to their power, and whoſe reſentment they had ſo much cauſe to dread.

With this view, a parliament was ſummoned to meet, not at London, which was ſuppoſed to be too much in the duke's intereſt, but at St. Edmundſbury, where they hoped they ſhould be able to perpetrate the helliſh deed with equal eaſe and impunity.

As ſoon as Glouceſter appeared he was arreſted, accuſed of high-treaſon, and thrown into priſon. After having been confined for ſeventeen days without any trial, he was found dead in his bed; and though it was pretended that his death was natural, all the impartial world believed that he had fallen a ſacrifice to the cruelty and vengeance of his enemies.*

His body, indeed, which was expoſed three days ſucceſſively, bore no external marks of violence; but the ſame trick had been

* A. D. 1447.

been practiſed on Edward II. Richard II. and on Thomas of Wodeſtoke duke of Glouceſter; and the repetition of the farce, inſtead of removing the ſcruples of the people, tended only to ſtrengthen their ſuſpicions, and to make them conclude with the greater certainty that Humphry had undergone the fate of his unhappy anceſtors.

Soon after, Sir Roger Chamberlayn, Richard Middleton, Thomas Herbert, Richard and Arthur Needham, with ſeveral other gentlemen of the duke's family, were tried for aiding him in his ſuppoſed treaſons, and condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered.

Accordingly, they were conducted through the city on ſledges to the place of execution, hanged by the necks for a conſiderable time, cut down with ſome remains of life, ſtript naked, and their bodies marked with a knife in order to be quartered; but juſt as the executioner was proceeding to this laſt part of his office, a pardon was produced and the unhappy men were recovered from their trance and reſtored to life: a ſpecies of mercy of ſuch a barbarous and ſavage nature, as, in the opinion of every humane and generous perſon, ought certainly to have entitled the authors of it to the ſame cruel and diſgraceful puniſhment which they inflicted on the miſerable delinquents.

Glouceſter

Glouceſter is ſaid to have received a more learned education than was uſual in his age, to have been a generous patron and protector of men of letters, and to have founded the famous library at Oxford, now known by the name of the Bodleian Library, from Sir Thomas Bodley, by whom it was greatly enlarged.

This liberal turn of mind gave him great advantages over his contemporaries, and particularly cured him of that ſpirit of credulity and ſuperſtition which was ſo prevalent in his time.

Of this we have a remarkable inſtance, recorded by Sir Thomas More. There was a man, who pretended, that, though he was born blind, he had recovered his ſight by touching the ſhrine of St. Alban's. The duke, happening at that very time to paſs thro' the place where the man reſided, examined him ſtrictly concerning the ſuppoſed miracle, and ſeeming to doubt the truth of his account, aſked him the colour of ſeveral cloaks, worn by perſons of his retinue. The man told him very readily. "You are a "knave," cried the prince; "had yo- "been born blind, and never recovered "your ſight till this time, you could not "poſſibly have diſtinguiſhed colours:" and immediately, inſtead of giving him an alms,

alms, ordered him to be put in the ſtocks as an impoſtor.

Henry himſelf was not ſuſpected of having had any ſhare in the murder of his uncle, which was univerſally aſcribed to the contrivance of the queen, the cardinal, and the duke of Suffolk; all of whom, on that account, were curſed by the people with the moſt bitter imprecations.

There cannot be a ſtronger proof of the weakneſs of human foreſight than the fall of the duke of Glouceſter; in conſequence of which the queen imagined that ſhe had effectually ſecured herſelf againſt all oppoſition; whereas, in fact, it gave occaſion to that numberleſs train of miſeries and calamities which ſhe and her family ſuffered in the ſequel, becauſe it furniſhed the duke of York with an opportunity to revive his pretenſions to the crown, which, in all probability, he would never have ventured to maintain, or even to publiſh, during the life of the duke of Glouceſter.

The cardinal of Wincheſter did not long ſurvive the death of his adverſary, in which he had been principally concerned. In leſs than ſix weeks after the duke's deceaſe, this haughty prelate was ſeized with a diſtemper that brought him to his grave; and he died in all the horrors of a guilty conſcience.

When

When he found that his case was desperate, and that no medicines could effect a cure, he is said to have exclaimed, in the violence of his passion, "What! will no-"thing save my life? Will money do no-"thing? Cannot death be bribed for a "few years? I would give the whole "kingdom for my life:" so strongly had the cardinal's affections been rivetted to this world, that he had entirely forgot to lay in provision for his journey to the next!

Winchester's death deprived the queen, and her favourite Suffolk, of all the weight and influence which his great power and immense fortune naturally commanded; and left the duke to incur the odium of the imprudent and unpopular measures which were soon after pursued.

That article of the marriage-contract, by which the province of Maine was to be ceded to Charles of Anjou, the queen's uncle, had probably been hitherto concealed; and, during the life of the duke of Gloucester, it would have been dangerous, if not impossible, to carry it into execution. But that obstacle being now removed, and the court of France insisting on the immediate performance of the treaty, orders were sent, under the king's hand, to Sir Francis Suri-

Surienne, governor of Mans, commanding him to deliver up that place to Charles of Anjou.

Surienne, believing that an Engliſh council could never be ſo wicked as to agree to ſuch a pernicious meaſure, and therefore, doubting the authenticity of the order, or perhaps conſidering his government as his only fortune, and ſeeing no other means of ſupporting himſelf and his garriſon, abſolutely refuſed to obey the command; in conſequence of which, it became neceſſary for a French army, under the conduct of the count de Dunois, to undertake the ſiege of the city.

Surienne defended himſelf, for a conſider-time, with undaunted bravery; but, receiving no ſuccour from the duke of Somerſet, who was at that time governor of Normandy, he was at laſt compelled to yield, and to deliver up not only Mans, but all the other fortreſſes of that province, which was thus entirely alienated from the crown of England.

Nor were theſe the only bad conſequences of which this impolitic meaſure was productive. Surienne, at the head of all his garriſons, amounting to two thouſand five hundred men, withdrew into Normandy, in hopes of being taken into pay, and of having

ing his troops quartered in ſome towns of that province.*

But Somerſet, unable to maintain his own forces, and perhaps provoked at Surienne for his late diſobedience, flatly refuſed to give him any aſſiſtance; and that bold and intrepid officer, being thus rejected by his friends, and not chuſing to revolt to his enemies, directed his march into Brittany, ſurpriſed the town of Fougeres, repaired the fortifications of Pontorſon and St. James de Beuvron, committed depredations over the whole province, and in this way procured ſubſiſtence for himſelf and his followers.

The duke of Brittany, incenſed at this violence, complained bitterly to the king of France, as lord paramount of the province: Charles ſent ambaſſadors to the duke of Somerſet, to remonſtrate with him on the ſubject: that nobleman replied, that the outrage was committed without his knowledge or conſent, and that he had no authority over Surienne and his companions.

Charles himſelf had ſo frequently felt the ſad effects of the licentious and independent ſpirit of mercenary ſoldiers, that he ought in juſtice to have been ſatisfied with this apology.

Never-

* A. D. 1448.

Nevertheleſs, he ſtill inſiſted that theſe free-booters ſhould be recalled and puniſhed, and that the duke of Brittany ſhould be indemnified for all the damages he had ſuſtained: and, in order to render an accommodation abſolutely impoſſible, he eſtimated his loſſes at no leſs than one million and ſix hundred thouſand crowns. He was conſcious of the great advantage which the preſent ſituation of affairs gave him, and he determined to avail himſelf of ſuch a favourable opportunity for expelling the Engliſh from his dominions.

Accordingly, in the beginning of the year, he invaded Normandy with four different armies, one commanded by himſelf in perſon; another by the duke of Brittany; a third by the duke of Alençon; and a fourth by the count de Dunois.* As the Engliſh had not a body of troops ſufficient to oppoſe them in the field, they proceeded in their conqueſts without interruption; and the towns were ſo poorly ſupplied with garriſons, that they had little elſe to do but receive the ſubmiſſion of the inhabitants.

In a few weeks, Verneuil, Nogent, Chateau-Gaillard, Ponteau-de-Mer, Giſors, Mante, Vernon, Argentin, Liſieux, Fecamp,

* A. D. 1449.

Coutances, Beleſme, Pont-de-l'Arche, and ſeveral other places, fell into the hands of the enemy; and the duke of Somerſet was glad, with the few forces he had, to retire into Roüen, where he reſolved, if poſſible, to defend himſelf, until freſh ſuccours ſhould arrive from England.

This reſolution, however, he found it impoſſible to keep; for the French king, having advanced to the gates of the city, with an army of fifty thouſand men, the inhabitants were ſeized with the general ſpirit of revolt, and called aloud for a ſurrender. Somerſet, unable to reſiſt his enemies, both within and without, took refuge with his garriſon in the palace and caſtle; but, as the fortifications of theſe places were in bad repair, he was ſoon obliged to capitulate, and to purchaſe a liberty of retiring to Harfleur, by the payment of fifty-ſix thouſand crowns, by engaging to reſtore Arques, Tancarville, Caudebec, Honfleur, Lillebonne, and other places in the higher Normandy, and by giving hoſtages for the performance of theſe articles.

The governour of Honfleur refuſing to ſurrender, the earl of Shrewſbury, who was one of the hoſtages, was detained priſoner; and thus the Engliſh were deprived of one of their braveſt and moſt experienced generals.

nerals. Sir Thomas Curſon, governor of Harfleur, made a bold and vigorous defence; but was finally obliged to yield to the ſuperior forces of the count de Dunois.

Succours at laſt arrived from England; but they came too late, amounted only to four thouſand men, and were ſoon after defeated at Formigni, by the count de Clermont. This battle, or rather ſkirmiſh, was the only action fought by the Engliſh, in defence of their French dominions, which they had acquired at ſuch an expence of blood and treaſure.*

Somerſet, confined in Caen without any hopes of relief, was obliged to agree to a capitulation; Falaiſe ſurrendered, on condition that the earl of Shrewſbury ſhould be ſet at liberty; and Cherbourg, the laſt place in Normandy that remained in the hands of the Engliſh, being yielded up, the conqueſt of that whole province was completed by Charles in the ſpace of a twelvemonth.

The arms of Charles were no leſs ſucceſsful in Guienne, though the inhabitants of that province were more warmly attached to the Engliſh than to the French government. The count de Dunois was ſent thither with a ſtrong army, and met with no reſiſt-

* A. D. 1450.

ance in the field, and very little from the towns.

After having reduced all the ſmall places about Bourdeaux, he at laſt inveſted that city, which, as it was in no condition to ſuſtain a long and vigorous ſiege, agreed to ſurrender, if not relieved by a certain time. No ſuccours arriving from England, the place was delivered up to the enemy; and Bayonne being taken ſoon after, the whole dutchy of Guienne, which had been poſſeſſed by the Engliſh ever ſince the acceſſion of Henry II. was, after a period of three hundred years, finally annexed to the French monarchy.

It is not to be ſuppoſed that the Engliſh, who are always uneaſy under diſappointments, would patiently bear with ſuch a conſtant run of bad fortune as had lately attended their arms, and which they aſcribed, in a great meaſure, to the miſconduct, if not to the treachery, of the duke of Suffolk.

Acordingly, the parliament had no ſoone aſſembled, than the commons reſolved to prefer an impeachment againſt this haughty and overgrown minion. Suffolk, informed of this reſolution, endeavoured to overawe his enemies, by boldly preſenting himſelf to the charge, and by inſiſting upon his own innocence, and even his merits, and

thoſe

thoſe of his family, in the public ſervice.

He roſe up in the houſe of lords; took notice of the clamours that had been propagated againſt him; and complained, that, after having ſerved the crown in thirty-four campaigns; after having ſtaid abroad ſeventeen years, without once returning to his own country; after having loſt a father, and three brothers, in the French wars; after having been himſelf a priſoner, and obliged to purchaſe his liberty with a large ranſom; it ſhould yet be ſuſpected, that he had been debauched from his duty by the bribes and promiſes of that enemy whom he had always oppoſed, or that he had betrayed his prince, who had rewarded his ſervices by the greateſt honours and offices which it was in his power to beſtow; and finally, he concluded by defying all the world to prove him guilty of diſloyalty or miſconduct.

The commons, not intimidated by this challenge, opened their charge againſt him, and ſent up to the houſe of peers an impeachment of high treaſon, divided into ſeveral articles, importing, that he had treated with the count de Dunois, Bertrand de Preſſigny, and W. Caufinat, the king's enemies, adviſing them to perſuade the French king to invade England, dethrone Henry, and beſtow the crown upon his ſon John

de la Pole, who, by marrying Margaret, daughter and heir to John late duke of Somerſet, might juſtly claim it in her right, as next heir to Henry, who had no iſſue: that he had received money and promiſes from the duke of Orleans, to induce the king to agree to his releaſe, that he might aſſiſt Charles in the recovery of France: that he had encouraged the French king to break the truce, and renew the war in Normandy: that he had, without ſufficient authority, promiſed to yield Le Maine; and, after his return, performed that promiſe, in conſequence of which the Engliſh were deprived of the province of Normandy: that he betrayed the ſecrets of the king's council, to the count de Dunois and other French ambaſſadors: that he had acquainted them with the ſtate of all the French fortreſſes belonging to the Engliſh; diſcloſed the ſecret inſtructions of the Engliſh ambaſſadors, ſent to treat of a peace between the two crowns; boaſted of his intereſt with Charles; received bribes from the enemy, for preventing reinforcements from being ſent to the Continent; and, in the truce which he made, not only omitted to comprehend the king of Arragon, the old ally of England, but included the duke of Bretagne, as ally of France; a circumſtance which had deprived the Engliſh of that aſſiſtance which they might

might otherwiſe have derived from the friendſhip of that prince.

The commons, apprehenſive that this charge of high treaſon would not bear a ſtrict ſcrutiny, preſented another ſet of articles againſt Suffolk, amounting only to miſdemeanours.

In theſe they accuſed him of having, in quality of a privy-counſellor, perſuaded the king to make ſuch laviſh grants of the crown lands, that a ſufficient fund was not left for defraying the expences of the houſhold: of having obtained grants of privileges and franchiſes, to obſtruct the execution of the laws, and ſcreen offenders from juſtice: of having procured, for the Captal de Buche, his ſon in-law, the earldom of Kendal, and lands in Guienne to the value of a thouſand pounds a year, taken by force from the lawful owners: of having prevailed upon the king to alienate ſo many caſtles and lordſhips in Guienne, as had greatly weakened the power of the crown in that country: of having acquainted the French court with the ſecret negociation for concluding a treaty between England and the count of Armagnac; by which means that project was defeated, the count ruined, and the Gaſcon lords oppreſſed, until they were obliged to ſubmit to the French government: of having procured

offices

offices and commands in France and Normandy for unqualified perſons: of having adviſed the king to grant a toll on wine and merchandize brought down the Seine, to Peter de Brezé, an enemy to the Engliſh nation: of having procured, without the conſent of the council, a grant of Evreux, Longueville, and other ſignories in Normandy, for the count de Dunois, Preſſigny, and the ſaid Brezé; grants, in conſequence of which the great towns were taken without oppoſition: of having brought the French ambaſſadors to a private conference with Henry, in which he agreed to a perſonal interview with Charles, and other articles ſtipulated without the knowledge or conſent of the privy-council: of having miſapplied and embezzled ſubſidies: of having given thirteen hundred pounds of the public money to the queen of France, and very conſiderable ſums to the miniſters of Charles: of having divided, between himſelf and his adherents, ſixty thouſand pounds, being the produce of ſubſidies left in the exchequer by the lord Sudely, when he reſigned his poſt of treaſurer: of having procured for himſelf a grant of the county of Pembroke, the reverſion of Haverford-weſt, and other caſtles in Wales, together with the wardſhip and marriage of Margaret, daughter of John duke of Somerſet:

of

of having embezzled the bonds of the duke of Burgundy, and other perſons bound for the ranſom of the duke of Orleans: and of having likewiſe embezzled writs, perverted juſtice, maintained bad cauſes, and weakened the ancient friendſhip ſubſiſting between the crown of England and the princes of the empire.

It happens unluckily, that thoſe who are bent upon the proſecution of any favourite object, frequently defeat their own endeavours, by their too eager and anxious deſire to attain their end: advocates, by proving too much, are commonly found to prove little or nothing, and to ruin the cauſe which they meant to ſupport: by advancing notorious falſhoods, or frivolous truths, they render doubtful the authenticity of facts which might be eaſily demonſtrated, and weaken the ſtrength of arguments which would otherwiſe be admitted as concluſive.

Some of the articles preferred againſt Suffolk, were evidently falſe; others were abſurd and ridiculous; but many of them were ſo inconteſtibly true, and ſo highly criminal, that it would have been an eaſy matter to have proved him guilty of diſloyalty to his prince, and treaſon againſt his country.

The

The king foreſaw and dreaded this conſequence; and therefore, in order to ſave the life of his favourite, he had recourſe to the following expedient. He ſent for the lords ſpiritual and temporal to his apartment, where he produced the culprit before them, and aſked him what he had to ſay in in his own defence. Suffolk denied the charge; but ſubmitted himſelf to the king's mercy.

Henry acknowledged that he was, by no means, ſatisfied with the firſt bill of treaſons; but, with regard to the ſecond of miſdemeanours, he declared, that, in virtue of the duke's own ſubmiſſion, not by any judicial authority, he baniſhed him the realm for the ſpace of five years.

The lords ſtood ſilent during this colloquy between the king and his miniſter; but they had no ſooner returned to their own houſe, than they entered a ſolemn proteſt, that this ſentence ſhould in no wiſe derogate from their privileges; that every ſubject had a right to be tried by his peers, and was even obliged to ſubmit to ſuch a trial, notwithſtanding any endeavours which the king might uſe to prevent it; and that, though they had allowed his majeſty to exempt the duke of Suffolk from that obligation, they would never ſuffer the preſent, nor any future king of England, to inſiſt upon

upon that power of exemption as a right inherent in the crown, or part of the royal prerogative.

But Henry ſoon found, that it was much eaſier to ſcreen his miniſter from ſubmitting to the laws of his country, than to ſave his life from the juſt wrath and indignation of an injured and incenſed people. The commons were ſenſible, that all theſe irregular proceedings were only meant to favour Suffolk, and that, as he ſtill poſſeſſed the queen's confidence, he would, on the firſt favourable opportunity, be recalled to his country, and reſtored to his former power and authority.

They, therefore, reſolved to prevent ſuch a diſagreeable conſequence: they engaged one Nicholas, captain of an Engliſh cruizer, to intercept him in his paſſage to France: he was ſeized near Dover: his head was ſtruck off on the ſide of a longboat, and his body thrown into the ſea: and, as he was generally believed to have deſerved the death he ſuffered, no enquiry was made after the authors and accomplices of his murder.

The unconſtitutional ſtep which the king had taken, in order to ſave the life of a miniſter who was ſo juſtly become the object of the public odium; the loſs of the Engliſh provinces in France, through the trea-

treachery and miſconduct of the late miniſtry; the arbitrary and deſpotic meaſures of the queen and the duke of Somerſet, who had ſucceeded Suffolk as prime miniſter, and who now preſumed to manage all the affairs of the nation by his ſole authority, without regarding the advice and opinion of the other members of the council; theſe, and many other circumſtances, concurred to diffuſe a ſpirit of diſcontent and diſſatisfaction among the people, and to make many of them wiſh for a change in the adminiſtration.

If the order of lineal ſucceſſion had been violated, and the family of Lancaſter advanced to the throne for the ſake of the public good, the ſame motive, they thought, might fully juſtify them in altering the preſent eſtabliſhment, and reſtoring the lawful heir of the crown. They, therefore, began to turn their eyes towards Richard duke of York, who, being deſcended by his mother Philippa, only daughter of the duke of Clarence, ſecond ſon of Edward III. ſtood plainly in the order of ſucceſſion before Henry, who derived his deſcent from the duke of Lancaſter, third ſon of that monarch; nor could this claim have fallen into more dangerous hands, than thoſe of its preſent poſſeſſor.

Richard

Richard was a man of courage and capacity, prudent in his conduct, and gentle in his diſpoſition: theſe virtues he had an opportunity of manifeſting, in his juſt and mild adminiſtration of France; and, though recalled from that country by the intereſt and intrigues of the duke of Somerſet, he had been ſent to quell an inſurrection in Ireland, where he not only ſucceeded in his attempt, but even had the good fortune to engage the affection of the whole Iriſh nation.

In right of his father, the earl of Marche, beheaded in the reign of Henry V. he enjoyed the rank of the firſt prince of the blood; and, by his ſtation, he added a freſh luſtre to his title derived from the family of Mortimer, which, though one of the moſt ancient in the kingdom, was equalled by other families, and was eclipſed by the royal deſcent of the houſe of Lancaſter.

By the union of the eſtates of Cambridge, York, Mortimer, Clarence, and Ulſter, he was poſſeſſed of an immenſe fortune; and, by his marriage with Cecilia, daughter of Ralph Nevil, earl of Weſtmoreland, he had greatly increaſed his intereſt among the nobility, and procured many and ſtrong connections in that formidable order.

The family of Nevil was, at this time, as well from the large eſtates poſſeſſed by its different branches, as from the valour and abilities of the ſeveral noblemen placed at their heads, one of the moſt powerful that ever appeared in England. For, not to mention the earl of Weſtmoreland, the chief of the family, the earls of Saliſbury and Warwick, and the lords Latimer, Falconbridge, and Abergavenny, were of that name, and were of themſelves, on many accounts, the moſt potent barons in the kingdom.

Saliſbury, brother-in-law to the duke of York, was the eldeſt ſon, by a ſecond marriage, of the earl of Weſtmoreland; and enjoyed, in right of his wife Alicia, daughter and heireſs of Thomas de Montacute earl of Saliſbury, killed before Orleans, the title and eſtate of that great family. His eldeſt ſon Richard, had eſpouſed Anne, daughter and heireſs of Beauchamp earl of Warwick, who died governor of France; and poſſeſſed the eſtate and title of that other family, which, in point of wealth, antiquity, and influence, was inferior to none in the kingdom.

Saliſbury and Warwick depended leſs upon the largeneſs of their eſtates, and the ſplendour of their families, than upon their own perſonal virtues and abilities. Warwick,

wick, in particular, who, from the great ſhare which he had in enſuing revolutions, was commonly diſtinguiſhed by the title of the *King-maker*, was by far the moſt popular nobleman in the realm. By his bravery in war, and his hoſpitality in peace; by his ſtrict adherence to the principles of honour and virtue, and his declared hatred and averſion to every kind of treachery and deceit; in a word, by his frank, open, and generous behaviour, he had ſtrongly recommended himſelf to the love and eſteem of the whole nation. No leſs than thirty thouſand people are ſaid to have daily lived at his board, in the different manors and caſtles which he poſſeſſed in England.*

The military men, charmed by his munificence, as well as by his bravery, were entirely devoted to his intereſt: the people bore him an unbounded affection: his numerous adherents paid a more implicit obedience to his will, than to the commands of the prince, or the laws of the land: and he was the greateſt, as well as the laſt, of thoſe potent barons who formerly overawed the

* It is ſaid that every ſoldier might come into his kitchen, and take away as much meat as he could carry off on the point of his dagger; which is not a ſtronger proof of the hoſpitality of Warwick, than of the plain and ſimple manner of the age in which he lived.

crown, and compoſed that powerful ariſtocracy in which the civil government of England, at that time, conſiſted.

Beſides the family of Nevil, the duke of York had many other friends among the great nobility. Courtney, earl of Devonſhire, ſprung from the royal blood of France, was warmly attached to his intereſt; and Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, from his hereditary hatred to the family of Lancaſter, was engaged in the ſame party.

But, notwithſtanding the great power and intereſt of the Yorkiſts, the reigning family was, by no means, deſtitute of friends and adherents. The earl of Northumberland was attached to the preſent government: the earl of Weſtmoreland, in ſpite of his connections with the duke of York, and with the family of Nevil, of which he was the head, was drawn over to the ſame ſide; and, by means of theſe two noblemen, the whole north of England, the moſt warlike part of the kingdom, was engaged in the cauſe of Lancaſter. Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerſet, and his brother Henry, were zealous friends of that party; as were likewiſe Henry Holland duke of Exeter, Stafford duke of Buckingham, the earl of Shrewſbury, and the lords Clifford, Dudley, Scales, Audley, and many other noblemen.

Before

Before the duke of York would appear perſonally in ſupport of his pretenſions, he thought it moſt adviſeable to prepare the nation for his deſign, by exciting their affection for the houſe of Mortimer. With this view, he engaged an Iriſhman, named John Cade, who had ſerved under him as a ſoldier in France, to raiſe a rebellion in England in favour of the family of Marche, that their title, which had ſo long been forgotten, might once more be revived, and again attract the attention of the public.

Cade, who, by his courage, capacity, and ſpirit, was extremely well qualified for ſuch an undertaking, having received the proper inſtructions from the duke's agents, aſſumed the name of John Mortimer, pretending to be the ſon of Sir John Mortimer, who was executed for treaſon in the laſt reign; and repairing to the county of Kent, in which the duke of York had a great number of adherents, he collected a ſtrong body of malecontents, on pretence of redreſſing the grievances of the nation, and delivering the people from the burden of taxes.

He ſoon found himſelf at the head of ſuch a powerful army, that he thought he was able to carry his ſcheme into execution; and, advancing towards London, encamped on Blackheath. The king being

apprized of this insurrection, sent a message to demand the cause of their hostile appearance; and Cade replied, in the name of his followers, that they had no design to hurt the person of his majesty; but their intention was to petition the parliament, that evil ministers might be removed from their places, and brought to condign punishment; and that the people might be eased of those intolerable taxes, with which they were now oppressed.

They accordingly presented two petitions to parliament, representing the grievances which ought to be redressed, and positively insisting that the duke of Somerset should be punished for the loss of Normandy; and that the king's council might be composed of the princes of the blood, and other persons of honour and capacity; and not of worthless and wicked wretches, entirely destitute of virtue and integrity.

These petitions being imparted to the king, the council condemned them as arrogant and seditious, and resolved to suppress the rebellion by force of arms. Henry, having assembled a body of fifteen thousand men, advanced at their head towards Blackheath. At his approach Cade retired, as if he had been afraid of a battle, and lay in ambush in a wood, not doubting but that he should be followed by the king's whole army;

army; but Henry, imagining they were wholly diſperſed, returned to London, after having detached a ſmall party in purſuit of the fugitives, under the command of Sir Humphry Stafford, who, falling into the ambuſcade, was put to the ſword with all his followers.

Cade had no ſooner obtained this advantage, than he directed his march towards London, while the king and council retired haſtily to Kenilworth-caſtle, after having left a ſtrong garriſon in the Tower, under the command of the lord Scales. The citizens of London, alarmed at the ſucceſs of the rebels, opened the gates at their approach; and Cade entered in triumph at the head of his troops, which had been greatly augmented ſince his victory. But he diſcharged his men, on pain of the moſt ſevere penalties, to be guilty of any outrage, or to give the inhabitants the leaſt cauſe of offence. Next day, hearing that the treaſurer lord Say was in the city, he ordered him to be ſeized and beheaded, without any form of trial; and, in the evening, retired to the borough of Southwark.

Thus he continued for ſome days, to enter the city in the morning and leave it at night, that he might not give umbrage to the inhabitants, with whom he lived at firſt upon very good terms. But, at length, the

rebels

rebels having pillaged ſome houſes, and committed other outrages, Cade one morning found the gate of the bridge ſhut and barricadoed againſt him. Attempting to force a paſſage, a battle enſued between the rebels and the citizens, both of whom maintained the fight with equal obſtinacy, until night put an end to the combat.

The archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the chancellor, who had retired to the Tower, being informed by their emiſſaries, that the inſurgents were greatly diſpirited by this repulſe, and heartily tired of their rebellious project, drew up a general pardon, confirmed by the ſanction of the great ſeal, and found means to publiſh it by night in the borough of Southwark.

This expedient was attended with the deſired effect. The rebels, glad of an opportunity to eſcape the puniſhment which was due to their crimes, deſerted in ſuch numbers, that by day-break Cade found himſelf almoſt alone, and was obliged to take ſhelter in the woods of Kent; where, a price being ſet upon his head, he was at laſt diſcovered and killed by Alexander Iden, who, for this ſervice, was rewarded with the government of Dover-caſtle,

Though the duke of York had not openly countenanced the late rebellion, yet it

was

was generally ſuppoſed that he had ſecretly prompted Cade to raiſe this ſedition, in order to try how the people were diſpoſed towards his title and family; and as the experiment had ſucceeded beyond his expectation, the ruling party had greater reaſon than ever to be jealous of his deſigns and pretenſions.

At the ſame time, they heard that he intended to return from Ireland, whither he had been ſent to ſuppreſs an inſurrection; and, ſuſpecting that he meant to come with an armed force, they iſſued orders, in the king's name, to oppoſe him wherever he ſhould endeavour to land, and refuſe him admittance into the kingdom.

But the duke eluded all their attempts, by coming attended with no more than his ordinary retinue; and the precautions of the miniſtry, ſerved only to ſhew their apprehenſions of his power and intereſt, and their jealouſy and diſtruſt of the affections of the people.*

Richard was now convinced, that his title was not more dangerous to the king, than it was to himſelf; and that he muſt either proceed in aſſerting his claim to the throne, or renounce and abandon it for ever. Nevertheleſs, as he was a man of great humanity and

* A. D. 1451.

and moderation, he was unwilling, at once, to have recourſe to extremities: he hoped he might be able to accompliſh his purpoſe without the hazardous experiment of a civil war; and that, by baniſhing the king's miniſters, and getting poſſeſſion of his perſon, he might find means to change the ſucceſſion by parliamentary and legal authority.

Accordingly, the parliament had no ſooner aſſembled, than he prevailed upon the commons to preſent an addreſs againſt the duke of Somerſet, the dutcheſs of Suffolk, the biſhop of Cheſter, Sir John Sutton, lord Dudley, and others; to intreat his majeſty to remove them for ever from his perſon and councils, and to forbid them for the future to approach within twelve miles of the court.

Henry, who does not ſeem to have been ſenſible of the weakneſs of his own party, and of the great power and intereſt of his enemies, abſolutely refuſed to comply with their requeſt; and he had even the imprudence to reject a bill which had paſſed both houſes, for attainting the late duke of Suffolk, and which diſcovered a very ſtrong prejudice againſt the meaſures of the court.

The duke of York, finding it impoſſible to gain his end by gentle means, was obliged

obliged to employ a more dangerous and diſagreeable method. He aſſembled an army of ten thouſand men, with which he advanced to London, and peremptorily inſiſted on a reformation of the government, and the removal of the duke of Somerſet from all power and authority.*

Contrary to his expectation, he found the gates of the city ſhut againſt him; and, on his retreating into Kent, he was purſued by Henry, at the head of a more numerous army; in which were ſeveral of Richard's friends, particularly the earls of Saliſbury and Warwick, who ſeem to have joined the king in order to ſupport the duke's pretenſions, and, if poſſible, effect an accommodation between the contending parties.

A parley enſued: Richard ſtill demanded that Somerſet ſhould be removed and committed to priſon, until the meeting of next parliament: the court pretended to grant his demand; and that nobleman was put under arreſt. The duke of York was then perſuaded to viſit the king in his tent; and on renewing his charge againſt the duke of Somerſet, he was ſurprized to ſee that miniſter ſtep from behind the curtain, and offer to vindicate his innocence. Richard now found that he was baſely betrayed; that he was

* A. D. 1452.

was entirely at the mercy of his enemies; and that it was neceſſary, for his own ſafety, to moderate his pretenſions.

No violence, however, was offered to his perſon; and, indeed, any attempt againſt his life, would have been productive of the moſt fatal conſequences: he was extremely beloved by the whole body of the people, who would not have failed to reſent and revenge his death upon the aſſaſſins, however dignified by their rank, or ſecured by their authority: he had many friends in the king's army, whom, though Henry had ſome reaſon to ſuſpect their fidelity, he yet was afraid to provoke by ſuch a cruel and barbarous deed: and his ſon, who was not in the power of the court, would ſtill continue to inherit and maintain his title, and would certainly conſider his father's murder as a ſufficient reaſon for declaring open and immediate war againſt the government: theſe, and many other circumſtances, concurred to protect the life of Richard, who was accordingly diſmiſſed; and he retired to his ſeat at Wigmore, on the borders of Wales.

During his abode in this place, there happened an incident which, as it inflamed the popular clamours againſt the miniſtry, contributed greatly to the ſucceſs of his enterprize.

terprize. Several lords of Gaſcony, who were more warmly attached to the Engliſh than the French government, repaired to London, and offered to return to their former allegiance under Henry.

The earl of Shrewſbury was immediately diſpatched to the Continent, with a body of eight thouſand men, in order to aſſiſt the Gaſcons in throwing off the French yoke. He was admitted into Bourdeaux, without oppoſition: he ſoon reduced Fronſac, Caſtillon, and ſome other places: but, after he had made a conſiderable progreſs in ſubduing the province, he was attacked by a ſuperior army: he himſelf, and his ſon the lord l'Iſle, a youth worthy of ſuch an illuſtrious father, were both killed in the action: the ſeveral towns which Shrewſbury had taken, were inſtantly recovered by the French arms: Bourdeaux was again obliged to ſubmit to its former maſter; and all hopes of re-annexing Gaſcony to the crown of England, were for ever extinguiſhed.

The news of theſe misfortunes had no ſooner arrived in England, than the people exclaimed with great virulence againſt the treachery and miſconduct of the miniſters, who had neglected to furniſh the earl of Shrewſbury with the neceſſary reinforcements.

While they were in this bad humour, the birth of a ſon to Henry, who was baptized by the name of Edward, was conſidered as an unlucky event; and as it deſtroyed all hopes of the quiet ſucceſſion of the duke of York, who was otherwiſe, in the right of his father, and by the laws enacted ſince the acceſſion of the houſe of Lancaſter, next heir to the crown, it rather tended to widen than repair the breach between the two parties.

But the duke was of too mild and gentle a temper, to purſue violent meaſures; and even, when he had removed every obſtacle that obſtructed his way to the throne, he was prevented from aſcending it by the ſcruples of his own conſcience. Henry, who, from the natural weakneſs of his underſtanding, was altogether unfit for managing the reins of government, was at this time ſeized with a diſtemper which rendered him abſolutely incapable of even maintaining the appearance of royalty.*

The queen and the council, deprived of this ſupport, were utterly unable to oppoſe the party of York; and were, of conſequence, obliged to yield to the torrent. They committed Somerſet to the Tower; and conſtituted Richard lieutenant of the kingdom,

* A. D. 1454.

kingdom, with power to convoke and hold a parliament. That assembly also, considering the weak and precarious state of the kingdom, appointed him protector of the realm, defender of the church, and first counsellor of the king, during pleasure.

The duke of York, with his usual moderation, was so far from taking advantage of these concessions, that he even discovered a kind of reluctance to receive the power which he was now desired to accept. He begged that it might be recorded in parliament, that this authority was bestowed upon him of their own accord, without any application from him: he expressed his hopes, that they would assist and support him in the discharge of such an important office: he even made it a condition of his acceptance, that the other lords, who were named to be of his council, should accept and exercise that trust; and he finally insisted, that all the powers of his office should be specified and defined by act of parliament.

Though this moderate conduct of Richard was extremely commendable, it was, nevertheless, productive of the most fatal effects, as it afforded time to his enemies to raise an opposition against him, and to sow the seeds of those civil wars and commotions

in which the kingdom was, ſoon after, involved.

Henry having, in ſome meaſure, recovered from his diſtemper, was perſuaded by his friends to re-aſſume his royal authority, to annul the regency of the duke of York, to reſtore Somerſet to liberty, and re-commit into the hands of that nobleman the adminiſtration of public affairs.

As Richard had received his commiſſion from the parliament, he was unwilling to reſign it without their order and conſent. He therefore repaired to his eſtate in Wales, where he levied a numerous army, with which he advanced towards the king, who had aſſembled his forces and marched out of London to give him battle.* The duke of York was attended by the earls of Saliſbury and Warwick. Theſe two noblemen ſent a letter from Royſton to the king, profeſſing their attachment to his perſon and government, and demanding admiſſion to his preſence, that they might clear their characters from the injurious aſperſions of their enemies, and make him acquainted with the treachery and miſconduct of his miniſters, who, they inſiſted, ſhould be brought to a legal trial, and puniſhed or acquitted according to their deſerts.

This

* A. D. 1455.

This letter was incloſed in another to Thomas Bouchier, archbiſhop of Canterbury, who ſent it by a particular meſſenger to the king; but it was intercepted by Somerſet and his creatures, who did not know what effect it might have had on Henry's weak and irreſolute mind.

York and his confederates renewed their requeſt, when they arrived in the neighbourhood of St. Albans; but it was rejected with diſdain; and they were menaced with the penalties of high treaſon.

The earl of Warwick, who commanded the van-guard, was ſo incenſed at this intolerable treatment, that, without waiting for the duke's orders, he charged the king's army with ſuch irreſiſtible fury, that it was inſtantly thrown into confuſion. York, advancing in the mean time, attacked them in flank with equal courage and ſucceſs; ſo that they were totally defeated, with the loſs of five thouſand men.

The duke of Somerſet, the earl of Northumberland, the earl of Stafford, eldeſt ſon of the duke of Buckingham, the lord Clifford, and many other perſons of diſtinction, were left dead upon the ſpot. The king himſelf, being wounded in the neck, was deſerted by his army, and took refuge in a little houſe, where he was preſently inveſted.

The duke of York, and his associates, were no sooner informed of his situation, than they flew to the place, and, falling on their knees before him, declared that, as the enemy of the public was now dead, they were ready to obey him in all his lawful commands.

This was the first blood that was shed in that fatal quarrel, which lasted for the space of thirty years, which was distinguished by twelve pitched battles, which exhibited a scene of uncommon barbarity and fierceness, is supposed to have cost the lives of eighty princes of the blood, and almost entirely destroyed the ancient nobility of England.

The strong connections which then subsisted between persons of the same kindred, and the spirit of revenge which was regarded as a point of honour, inflamed the animosities of the great families, and rendered an accommodation the more difficult and impracticable.

Matters, however, were not immediately carried to the last extremities: the minds of the people were for some time kept in suspence: and the small power of the queen, supported by her courage and activity, served to counterballance the great authority of the duke of York, which was further restrained by his mild and gentle disposition.

This

This wavering and irreſolute ſpirit, appeared evidently in the proceedings of the parliament, which was ſoon after aſſembled: for though they granted a general amneſty in favour of the Yorkiſts, and reſtored the duke to the dignity of protector, which he agreed to accept under the former limitations; yet they renewed their oaths of allegiance to Henry, and fixed the duration of the protectorſhip to the majority of his ſon Edward, who, at the ſame time, was created prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Cheſter. The only act of importance paſſed in this parliament, was a full reſumption of all the alienations of the crown-lands, which had been made ſince the firſt year of the king's reign.

Though the Lancaſtrians affected to acquieſce in theſe meaſures, they carefully watched every opportunity to regain their former power. The queen, taking the advantage of Richard's abſence, produced her huſband before the houſe of lords; and as he had, in ſome meaſure, recovered from his late indiſpoſition, he declared his reſolution to put an end to the protectorſhip of Richard, and take the adminiſtration of affairs into his own hands.*

As

* A. D. 1456.

As this propoſal was altogether unexpected, it met with no oppoſition from the contrary party: the lords, many of whom were diſpleaſed with the late act of reſumption, approved of Henry's intention; and the king was accordingly reſtored to his ſovereign authority. The duke of York was greatly ſurprized when he heard of this ſudden revolution; but as he was always averſe to violent meaſures, he quietly ſubmitted to the decree of the parliament.

Had Margaret been ſatisfied with her late ſucceſs, ſhe might perhaps have enjoyed her authority for ſome time without any diſturbance; but puffed up with this favourable turn of fortune, ſhe reſolved to enſure her future tranquillity by arreſting the perſons of York, Saliſbury, and Warwick. With this view the court was removed to Coventry, where ſhe thought ſhe could execute her purpoſe with greater eaſe than in London; and theſe three noblemen were required, by letters under the privy-ſeal, to attend the king about ſome affairs of importance.*

As Richard had taken no ſtep towards publiſhing his deſign upon the crown, he determined to obey the order: accordingly, he and his aſſociates ſet out for the place appointed;

* A. D. 1457.

appointed; but while they were on the road, they received intelligence of Margaret's intentions, in conſequence of which they inſtantly parted: Richard retired to his eſtate of Wigmore, on the borders of Wales; Saliſbury withdrew to his own houſe in Yorkſhire; and Warwick immediately took ſhipping for Calais, of which place he had continued governour ſince the battle of St. Alban's.

Notwithſtanding this freſh rupture, ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, and, among the reſt, Bouchier archbiſhop of Canterbury, who were more concerned for the welfare of the nation than for the intereſt of either party, exerted their utmoſt efforts in order to reconcile the contending factions; and their endeavours were, in ſome meaſure, crowned with ſucceſs.

The leaders of both ſides agreed to meet at London, and compromiſe all their differences in an amicable manner; but as they were, by no means, ſatisfied with each other's ſincerity, it was reſolved that they ſhould come attended with proper retinues.

Saliſbury arrived at London with a body of five hundred men: York repaired thither with four hundred followers, and took up his quarters at Baynard's Caſtle, while Saliſbury reſided at Cold Harbour: Warwick came over from Calais with ſix hundred

dred men, and chose the Grey-friars for the place of his residence; and the rest of the Yorkists lodged within the city.

Of the Lancastrian party, Somerset, Exeter, Northumberland, Egremond and Clifford, came with numerous retinues, who quartered in the suburbs; and Sir Godfrey Bulleyn the mayor of London,* at the head of ten thousand men, kept guard within the city, and patrolled through the streets, to preserve the public tranquillity.†

The conferences were at length opened; and, after some altercation, the treaty was concluded to their mutual satisfaction. Some masses were founded for the souls of those who had been slain at St. Alban's, and a pecuniary satisfaction was made to their heirs: both parties solemnly engaged to bury their animosities in eternal oblivion, and to live together in perfect harmony for the future; and the duke of York, with his confederates, were re-admitted into the council.

In order to notify this agreement to the people, a day was appointed for a public thanks-

* He was the ancestor of two famous queens; Anne, the second wife of Henry VIII. and queen Elizabeth, their daughter.

† A. D. 1458.

thankſgiving, and a ſolemn proceſſion to St. Paul's church. The king, the queen, and all the noblemen aſſiſted on this occaſion: the leaders of the different parties walked hand in hand, in token of friendſhip, and the duke of York handed the queen, who affected to treat him with particular marks of eſteem and confidence.

But however this farce might impoſe upon the vulgar, the ſenſible part of the nation concluded that the animoſity between the two factions was too ſtrong and violent to be thus eaſily removed; that each party only waited for an opportunity to ruin the other; and that the leaſt ſpark would be ſufficient to re-kindle the flame, which, though ſmothered in appearance, was far from being extinguiſhed.

It was not long before theſe conjectures were but too fully verified.* One of the king's ſervants inſulted a domeſtic of the earl of Warwick: their companions on each ſide took part in the quarrel: a deſperate battle enſued: ſome of Warwick's followers were killed on the ſpot. He ſoon found that this was a ſcheme formed by the court to deprive him of his life; and that Henry had that very day iſſued orders for committing him to the Tower; he inſtantly

* A. D. 1459.

ly fled to his government at Calais: the Yorkiſts were enraged at this violation of the late agreement: the Lancaſtrians were chagrined at the miſcarriage of their ſcheme; and both parties began to prepare for deciding the conteſt by force of arms.

The firſt advantage was gained by the Yorkiſts. The earl of Saliſbury, having aſſembled ſome troops, directed his march towards Herefordſhire, in order to join the duke of York, but he was met at Bloreheath, on the borders of Staffordſhire, by the lord Audeley, at the head of a much ſuperior force.

Notwithſtanding the inequality of numbers, he reſolved to give the enemy battle. They were parted by a ſmall rivulet with ſteep banks: Saliſbury made a feint of retreating, as if he had been afraid of an engagement: Audely fell into the ſnare: ſuppoſing that the enemy had actually fled, he paſſed the rivulet with great precipitation; but when part of his forces had croſſed the brook, Saliſbury wheeled about all of a ſudden, and attacked the royaliſts with ſuch irreſiſtible fury, that, after a deſperate battle, they were entirely defeated, with the loſs of their general and four and twenty hundred men, who were left dead upon the ſpot.

Saliſbury,

Salisbury, having thus opened a passage, continued his march to Ludlow, where the duke of York had assembled a numerous army. This was soon after strengthened by a choice body of veterans, whom the earl of Warwick brought over from Calais, under the command of Sir Andrew Trollop, an officer of great courage and experience, and upon whom, it was commonly imagined, the issue of the war would, in a great measure, depend; but this reinforcement had like to have proved the ruin of Richard's party.

When the royal army approached, and a general action was every moment expected, Sir Andrew Trollop deserted with the whole detachment he commanded; and the Yorkists were so intimidated by this instance of treachery, which made every man suspect his fellow, that they dispersed next day without striking a stroke.

The duke of York fled into Ireland: the earl of Warwick escaped to his government at Calais: the other noblemen retired to their several habitations: and the friends of Richard, though thus disappointed, resolved to embrace the first opportunity of taking up arms afresh, and retrieving their ruined fortunes.

The earl of Warwick was so universally beloved by the whole nation, and particularly by the gentlemen of the army, that

great numbers of volunteers repaired daily to his ſtandard, and he ſoon found himſelf at the head of a ſtrong body of forces. Thus ſupported, he reſolved to make one effort more in favour of the duke of York; accordingly, after meeting with ſome ſucceſſes at ſea, he landed in Kent, accompanied by his father the earl of Saliſbury, and York's eldeſt ſon the earl of Marche.*

He was met at Sandwich by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the lord Cobham, and other perſons of diſtinction; and directing his route towards London, he entered the city amidſt the ſhouts and acclamations of the people. After having reinforced his army with a ſtrong body of Londoners, he determined to march againſt the royaliſts, who were haſtening from Coventry to attack him.

The two parties came in ſight of each other in the neighbourhood of Northampton; and immediately began to prepare for a battle. The right wing of the Yorkiſts was commanded by the earl of Warwick; the lord Cobham conducted the left; and the earl of Marche took his ſtation in the center.

The dukes of Somerſet and Buckingham commanded the royal army; the queen remained

* A. D. 1460.

mained at a ſmall diſtance, from whence ſhe could obſerve the particulars of the action, and take her meaſures accordingly; and the king ſtaid in his tent, expecting the iſſue of a battle, which would for ever decide his title to ſovereign authority.

The leaders of the Yorkiſts having ſtrictly enjoined their men to reſpect the perſon of the king, and ſpare the common ſoldiers, but to give no quarter to the officers, advanced to the charge with great intrepidity: the battle began about two o'clock in the afternoon, and was maintained with equal courage and obſtinacy on both ſides till ſeven in the evening; when the lord Grey of Ruthwin, who commanded a conſiderable part of Henry's army, having deſerted to the enemy, the reſt of the royaliſts were ſtruck with ſuch a panic, that they inſtantly began to give way, and were routed with the loſs of ten thouſand men.

The duke of Buckingham, the earl of Shrewſbury, ſon of the famous Talbot, the lords Beaumont, and Egremond, Sir William Lucy, and many other perſons of diſtinction, were left dead upon the ſpot.

The queen, the prince of Wales, and the duke of Somerſet fled to Durham with great precipitation: Henry himſelf, that empty ſhadow of a king, fell once more into the hands of the enemy, who, nevertheleſs,

treated him with as much reſpect as if he had been in the moſt proſperous ſituation; and this deference ſerved, in ſome meaſure, to comfort him for his late misfortune, which would have been altogether intolerable, had not his natural weakneſs and want of ſenſibility rendered him proof againſt all the viciſſitudes of fortune.

He was immediately conducted to Northampton with all the marks of honour and regard; and after ſtaying a ſhort time at that place, he ſet out for London, attended by a crowd of noblemen and others, who had lately appeared in arms againſt him. Soon after his arrival in the capital, a parliament was aſſembled in order to ſettle the affairs of the nation. Mean while the duke of York, who had remained in Ireland ſince his late diſappointment, having received intelligence of his ſon's ſucceſs, returned immediately from that kingdom; and coming to London on the third day of the ſeſſion, repaired directly to the Houſe of Peers, who were then ſitting.

This prince had not as yet openly avowed his claim to the crown: he had only complained of the treachery and miſconduct of the miniſters, and inſiſted upon a redreſs of public grievances: and even in this delicate conjuncture, when the parliament was ſurrounded by his victorious army,

army, he behaved with ſo much diffidence and moderation, as at once reflects honour upon his own character, and proves that the Engliſh monarchs were not then ſo abſolute and deſpotic, as the modern advocates of the divine and indefeaſible nature of hereditary right would fondly make us believe.

He ſtood for ſome time under the canopy with his hand upon the throne, hoping that the lords would deſire him to aſcend; but all the members obſerved a profound ſilence; and the archbiſhop of Canterbury advancing to him, aſked, if he had paid his reſpects to the king ſince his arrival. He was ſomewhat confounded at this queſtion; but, after a ſhort pauſe, he replied, that he did not know any perſon to whom he owed that compliment.

So ſaying, he withdrew to his own houſe; and next day preſented a writing to parliament, explaining the principles upon which his claim to the crown were founded. He pretended to mount the throne as the lawful heir of the family of Marche; begged he might be heard by his counſel; and entreated the parliament to conſider the matter with all the attention and impartiality which an affair of ſo much importance deſerved.

The lords resolved to comply with his request; but would not proceed to the discussion of the matter without having previously acquainted his majesty. When Henry was informed of their resolution, he desired the point might be examined by his judges, serjeants, and attorney. These being summoned, refused to give their opinion in a matter which was so far above their cognizance.

Then the lords, after another debate, commanded the serjeants and attorney to attend the house, and maintain the king's title: it was likewise decreed, that there should be an entire freedom of debate, and that no member should be accountable for any thing he might say in defence of his own opinion.

Accordingly, the parliament being met, and the question proposed, Henry's friends alledged, that when his grandfather Henry IV. ascended the throne, no person presumed to oppose his elevation. The Yorkists answered, that as Edmund earl of Marche, who was then alive, could not assert his title without exposing himself to the most imminent danger, his silence could not be construed into an approbation of the right of his antagonist.

When Henry's advocates pretended that his grandfather had received the crown by the

the authority of parliament, the partizans of the duke of York replied, that he did not mean to claim it without the ſanction of the ſame authority, as was evident from his memorial directed to both houſes; but, as a regard to the welfare of the public had formerly induced the parliament to advance the houſe of Lancaſter to the throne, the ſame conſideration ſhould now incline them to do juſtice to the duke of York.

The reſignation of Richard II. was pleaded in behalf of the family of Lancaſter; but the other ſide denied that Richard's reſignation concerned that houſe in particular, or even the perſon of Henry IV. and that ſuppoſing this to have been the caſe, a king who was actually in confinement, and on the point of being depoſed, had no right to appoint a ſucceſſor.

It was objected to the duke of York, that as his father the earl of Marche had been executed for high-treaſon, his poſterity were rendered incapable of enjoying any inheritance; but the objection was removed by obſerving, that the duke of York had been reinſtated in all the honours and rights of his family by the king himſelf; and acknowledged as duke of York, and earl of Marche, as well by Henry, as by the whole kingdom.

Then

Then the adherents of the king alledged, that the houſe of Lancaſter had been in poſſeſſion of the crown for upwards of ſixty years. To this argument the others replied, that natural rights were indefeaſible, and could not be deſtroyed by any poſitive law; a truth which no ſenſible man will call in queſtion; but they added, that the ſucceſſion to the throne was a natural right; a poſition which is not only abſurd in itſelf, but was refuted by the conduct of both parties, who voluntarily ſubmitted the deciſion of this important point to the arbitration of the parliament, as the repreſentatives of the whole body of the people.

The laſt argument advanced in favour of Henry implied, that having already reigned thirty-eight years, and led an innocent and inoffenſive life, it would be cruel to rob him of the crown. In anſwer to this argument, the Yorkiſts obſerved, that as Henry himſelf was altogether incapable of managing the reins of government, ſuch a meaſure would only tend to the advantage of the queen and her miniſters, who abuſed his name and authority; that, out of tenderneſs to him, they ought not to ruin the whole kingdom, nor commit a flagrant act of injuſtice from a principle of charity.

Theſe,

Theſe, and many other arguments of the like nature, were urged on both ſides of this important diſpute, which was maintained for nine days ſucceſſively with great learning and capacity. At laſt they came to a ſort of modification, which, they imagined, would prevent thoſe dangerous conſequences which a total revolution might have produced.

They unanimouſly agreed, that Henry ſhould enjoy the crown for his natural life; and the duke of York be declared his ſucceſſor. This reſolution was imparted to the king by the chancellor, and afterwards paſſed into an act of parliament to the following effect; that, though the duke of York had an indiſputable right to the throne, he agreed to Henry's poſſeſſing it for life, and even to ſwear allegiance to him as his lawful ſovereign; but, in caſe Henry ſhould in any ſhape infringe this agreement, the crown ſhould from that moment devolve to the duke of York or his lawful heirs.

This act was no ſooner paſſed, than the king, with the crown upon his head, went in proceſſion to St. Paul's, attended by the duke of York, as a mark of their reconciliation; nor, indeed, did he appear to be in the leaſt affected with this ſudden revolution of his affairs. Satisfied with the preſent

ſent tranquillity which he was ſuffered to enjoy, he devoted his whole time to the exerciſes of devotion; and committed the adminiſtration to thoſe who acted under the ſanction of his name and authority.

The duke of York, having ſucceeded thus far in his deſign, obliged the king to ſign an order for the queen to repair immediately to London. He knew ſhe would not comply with this injunction; and he hoped her refuſal to obey the command of her lord and her huſband would furniſh him with a ſufficient excuſe for the meaſures he intended to take againſt her.

He imagined ſhe was deſtitute of all reſource, and that nothing was wanting but a plauſible pretext for preventing her return to court, and thereby freeing himſelf from the intrigues of ſuch a reſtleſs and implacable enemy. But he ſoon found that he was miſtaken in his opinion.

After the battle of Northampton, the queen had retired into the northern counties, where ſhe exerted her intereſt with ſo much diligence and ſucceſs, that ſhe ſoon collected an army of twenty thouſand men, with which ſhe reſolved to advance againſt the duke of York, and make one effort more in order to retrieve the ruined affairs of her family.

Richard

Richard being apprized of her deſign, determined to ſtop her in the middle of her career; and with that view ſet out from London at the head of five thouſand men, ordering his ſon the earl of Marche to lead the reſt of the army into quarters of refreſhment in Wales; and afterwards to join him in the northern counties.

As the duke advanced towards the north, he was greatly ſurprized to hear of the queen's ſucceſs in raiſing forces; a circumſtance with which he was entirely unacquainted when he left London: and, when he arrived in the neighbourhood of Wakefield in Yorkſhire, he was informed that ſhe was in full march againſt him, at the head of twenty thouſand men. He immediately took refuge in his own caſtle of Sandal, by the advice of the earl of Saliſbury, who obſerved, that, as the queen was altogether unprovided with artillery, ſhe could not poſſibly force him in that place, until he ſhould be joined by his ſon Edward.

Margaret employed every means which ſhe thought could tempt him to leave this retreat before his ſon's arrival. She pretended to continue her march towards the ſouth; then ſhe poſted the greater part of her troops in an ambuſh; and, with the reſt, advancing to the caſtle of Sandal, challenged

lenged him to battle by the moſt inſulting meſſages.

Whether the duke was provoked by her reproaches; or was ſtraitened for want of proviſions; or, finally, was miſtaken with regard to the number of the enemy; certain it is, he drew out his men, and determined to venture a battle.

The fight was begun by the duke of York, who attacked the queen's troops with undanted courage and reſolution; but all his bravery was of little avail, againſt an army ſo greatly ſuperior in point of number: the troops who had been placed in ambuſh, ruſhed forth with incredible impetuoſity, and fell upon the rear of the Yorkiſts, who were inſtantly defeated with great ſlaughter: the duke himſelf was ſlain, fighting valiantly on foot: Sir Thomas Harrington, Sir David Hall, Sir Hugh Haſtings, Sir Thomas Nevil, third ſon to the earl of Saliſbury, Sir John and Sir Hugh Mortimer, with many other gentlemen, and about three thouſand ſoldiers, were left dead upon the ſpot.

The duke's ſon, Edmund Plantagenet, earl of Rutland, a youth about twelve years of age, was, after the battle, inhumanly maſſacred in cold blood, upon Wakefield bridge, by the lord Clifford, who, inflamed with revenge for the loſs of his father, who had

had been killed in the battle of St. Albans, ſwore that he would not leave a branch of the family of York remaining, and is ſaid in this action to have committed ſuch a terrible carnage with his own hands, that he was ever after diſtinguiſhed by the name of the butcher.

The earl of Saliſbury being wounded and taken priſoner, was carried to Pomfret, where he was immediately executed, and his head fixed on the walls of York, as well as that of the duke's, upon which Clifford, by the queen's orders, placed a crown of paper, in deriſion of his title.

Thus fell, in the fiftieth year of his age, Richard duke of York, a prince endowed with many great and amiable qualities, and whoſe errors in conduct ought rather to recommend him to our pity and compaſſion, than expoſe him to our hatred and indignation.

The queen, however, was not long ſuffered to proceed in her victorious career, which was every where diſgraced with inſtances of the moſt ſavage barbarity. The battle of Wakefield, inſtead of retrieving the ruined affairs of her and her ſon, ſerved only to haſten their deſtruction.* The earl of March,

* A. D. 1461.

far from being discouraged by the defeat and death of his father, was inspired with the most implacable resentment; and determined to risk his life and fortune in revenging the untimely fate of his parent, and asserting his own pretensions to the crown.

He had continued his levies in Wales with so much success, that he now found himself at the head of three and twenty thousand men, besides those who had been left under the command of the earl of Warwick, for the security of the capital; and, with these forces, when joined, he resolved to go in quest of Margaret, whose cruelties and barbarities he eagerly wished for an opportunity to retaliate.

Margaret had began her march towards London; and, being informed of young Edward's design, sent Gasper Tudor earl of Pembroke, and James Butler earl of Ormond, with a body of Welch and Irish troops, to stop his progress.

March, having received intelligence of the queen's motions, had altered his first resolution of giving her battle, and directed his route towards London, which he hoped to reach before her arrival; but when he heard that Tudor had been sent against him, rather than expose himself to the danger of being

being incloſed between two hoſtile armies, he advanced directly into Herefordſhire, in order to give him battle.

The two armies met near Mortimer's Croſs, on Candlemas-eve; and, as Edward was greatly ſuperior in point of number, he obtained an eaſy victory over the enemy, who were inſtantly routed, with the loſs of about four thouſand men. The earls of Pembroke and Ormond found means to eſcape: but Owen Tudor, huſband of Catharine of France, and ſtep-father to king Henry, was taken priſoner, and with nine other officers beheaded at Hereford, in revenge for the murder of the earl of Saliſbury.

The news of this defeat did not prevent the queen from continuing her march to London. She fondly imagined, that whenever her victorious army ſhould appear at the gates, the citizens would expel the earl of Warwick, and receive her with open arms. Warwick himſelf ſeems to have been apprehenſive of ſome ſuch event; for, inſtead of remaining within the walls of London, he marched out, with an handful of men, to venture a battle; a ſtep which he hardly would have taken, had not he ſuſpected the fidelity of the citizens.

The queen had proceeded as far as St. Albans, when she understood that Warwick was advancing against her, with the king in his army, which was reinforced by a body of Londoners. The two armies met and engaged on Bernard's Heath, near St. Albans: notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, the bravery and conduct of Warwick rendered the fortune of the day for a long time doubtful; but the lord Lovelace, who commanded one of his wings, having treacherously withdrawn from the combat, the Yorkists were at last defeated, with the loss of two thousand men; though the earl had the address to rally his broken troops, and retreat in good order.

The lord Bonvil, and Sir Thomas Kyriel, who had been entrusted with the care of Henry's person, were persuaded to remain with that prince, on his solemn assurance that they should sustain no injury; but the queen, regardless of her husband's honour, ordered their heads to be struck off at St. Albans on Ash-wednesday.

The Londoners were so much incensed at these, and several other acts of cruelty, which Margaret committed, that they absolutely refused to admit her into the city,

or

or even to ſupply her troops with proviſions.

The mayor, indeed, in compliance with her requeſt, ordered ſeveral waggons to be loaded with all ſorts of Lenten victuals, and conveyed to her camp; but they were ſtopped at Newgate by the populace, and even a detachment of troops, which ſhe had ſent to eſcort the waggons, were repulſed with ſome bloodſhed.

Margaret denounced vengeance againſt the Londoners for this inſult; but ſhe had never an opportunity to carry her ſcheme into execution; for, hearing that the earls of March and Warwick had united their forces at Chiping-Norton in Oxfordſhire, and were advancing by long marches to London, ſhe was obliged to withdraw into the northern counties, where ſhe hoped to augment her army to ſuch a number as would enable her to make head againſt all her enemies.

The earl of March arriving at London in the month of February, entered the city amidſt the ſhouts and acclamations of the people, who at once eſteemed and loved him for the many great and excellent qualities with which he was endued. His friends, improving this favourable opportunity, reſolved to ſave him the trou-

ble and uncertainty of a parliamentary deciſion, and advance him to the throne by the conſent of the people and the grandees.

Accordingly, the earl of Warwick marſhalled his army in the fields near Clerkenwell, on pretence of exerciſing his ſoldiers; and an immenſe number of people being aſſembled to gratify their curioſity, the earl rode into the midſt of the crowd, and read aloud the agreement made between Henry and the duke of York, and ratified by act of parliament.

He then told them, that, as the king had notoriouſly infringed this convention, he had of courſe forfeited his right to the crown, which now belonged to Edward Plantagenet, the true heir and repreſentative of the houſe of Mortimer.

Having thus prepared the people for his purpoſe, he raiſed his voice, and aſked, if they would have Henry of Lancaſter for their king; the whole multitude exclaimed againſt the propoſal: but when he demanded whether they would acknowledge Edward for their ſovereign, they expreſſed their approbation with loud and joyful acclamations. A great number of prelates, lords, magiſtrates, and other perſons of diſtinction, were then aſſembled at Baynard's caſtle,

caſtle, who ratified the popular election; and the new king was next day proclaimed in the city of London, and the neighbourhood, under the name of Edward IV.

Thus ended the reign of Henry VI. who had enjoyed the ſceptre for the ſpace of thirty-eight years and an half, without ever having ſo much as exerciſed one act of royal authority. Of weak and narrow intellects, he had not ſagacity to diſcern the courſe he ought to purſue; and, of an unſteady and irreſolute temper, he was eaſily drawn into thoſe meaſures which the headſtrong and ungovernable paſſions of his queen, or the ſelfiſh and intereſted views of his miniſters, happened to ſuggeſt.

Nevertheleſs, it muſt be owned that his character was unſtained by any conſiderable blemiſh; and that he was poſſeſſed of many virtues, which, though they could not make him a great and illuſtrious ſovereign, would certainly have rendered him an excellent and worthy ſubject.

He was ſo free from cruelty and revenge, that he could not, without extreme reluctance, conſent to the puniſhment of thoſe malefactors who were ſacrificed to the public ſafety; and he frequently received the moſt intolerable inſults from perſons of the meaneſt

meaneſt condition, without diſcovering the leaſt mark of reſentment.

He was chaſte,* pious, compaſſionate, and charitable; and ſo harmleſs and inoffenſive in his conduct, that the biſhop, who was his confeſſor for ten years, declared, that in all that time he had not been guilty of any ſin that deſerved penance or cenſure.

But all theſe virtues were rendered uſeleſs, and ſometimes even pernicious, by the natural weakneſs of his underſtanding, which made him a dupe to the artful inſinuations of his corrupt and deſigning miniſters, who, under the ſanction of his name and authority, committed the moſt flagrant acts of violence and injuſtice. And, indeed, it will generally be found to hold true, that the reign of a weak prince may prove as fatal to the peace and tranquillity of a nation, as that of a wicked ſovereign; and a wiſe people would no more chuſe to

* He was ſo very continent, that, before his marriage, he would hardly allow any of the female ſex to enter his court: and having one day obſerved ſome young ladies with their breaſts uncovered, he turned away his eyes from the indecent object, and reprimanded them ſharply in the ſimple dialect of the times: "Fy! fy!" ſaid he, "for ſhame; forſooth, "ye be to blame."

to have their throne filled with a fool, than a tyrant.*

* Henry had, by his queen Margaret of Anjou, only one ſon, Edward prince of Wales, who, at the time of his father's depoſition, was only in the eighth year of his age.

The moſt remarkable law enacted in this reign, was that for the due election of members of parliament in counties. After the decline of the feudal ſyſtem, the diſtinction of tenures was, in a great meaſure, loſt; and every freeholder, without exception, came, by degrees, to acquire a right of giving his vote at elections. This innovation was confirmed by a law of Henry IV; but it was ſoon found to give occaſion to great tumults and diſorders. In the eighth and tenth of Henry VI. it was decreed, that no perſons ſhould be allowed to give a vote, but ſuch as were poſſeſſed of a landed eſtate of forty ſhillings a year, free from all burdens, within the county. This ſum was nearly equivalent to twenty pounds of our preſent money; from whence it appears, that, though we have adhered to the letter, we have deviated from the ſpirit of the ſtatute.

In the twenty-third year of this reign, it was enacted in parliament, that corn might be exported when it was at low prices; wheat at ſix ſhillings and eight pence a quarter; rye at four ſhillings, and barley at three. It is evident from theſe prices, that corn ſtill continued at about half of its preſent value; tho' other commodities were much cheaper.

In the courſe of this reign, queen Margaret began Queen's-College in Cambridge, which was completed by the conſort of Edward IV. Archbiſhop Kemp erected the Divinity-School at Oxford as it now ſtands, together with St. Paul's Croſs. William Eaſtfield, mayor

mayor of London, built, at his own charge, the water-conduit in Fleet-ſtreet; and John Wells, while he filled the ſame poſt, laid the conduit, commonly called the Standard in Cheap. In the year one thouſand four hundred and forty-ſix, Sir Simon Eyre, mayor of London, built Leadenhall, and allotted it as a common granary for the city: and in one thouſand four hundred and fifty-three, Sir John Norman, while he enjoyed the ſame office, went by water to Weſtminſter to take his oath: he was the firſt mayor that ever went in that manner, all his predeceſſors have rode thither on horſeback. *Stow's Survey.*

EDWARD

BRITISH MUSEUM

EDWARD IV.

Engravid for Rider's History of England.

BOOK IX.

Containing an account of the Engliſh *affairs during the Reigns of the three Princes of the Houſe of* York, *including the Space of Twenty-four Years.*

EDWARD IV. A. D. 1461.

A MAN of good ſenſe and ſound judgment will never prefer the ſhadow to the ſubſtance. The attention of young Edward was not ſo much engroſſed by the ceremony of his inauguration, as to make him neglect affairs of greater importance. Though he had aſſumed the title and authority of king, he was far from being eſtabliſhed

eſtabliſhed in the quiet and undiſturbed poſſeſſion of the throne.

Margaret had retired into the northern counties, and by her affability and complaiſance, had rendered herſelf ſo extremely popular, that ſhe ſoon collected an army of ſixty thouſand men, ready to ſacrifice their lives in her ſervice.

Edward was no ſooner informed of this circumſtance, than he and the earl of Warwick ſet out from London with an army of forty thouſand men, in order to oppoſe her progreſs.

When they arrived at Pontefract, they detached a body of troops, under the command of the lord Fitzwalter, to ſeize the paſſage of Ferrybridge over the river Aire, which run between them and the enemy. Fitzwalter executed the order with equal celerity and ſucceſs; but he was not able to defend the place againſt lord Clifford, who attacked him with ſuperior numbers. The Yorkiſts were driven to the other ſide of the river with great ſlaughter; and Fitzwalter himſelf was killed in the action.

The earl of Warwick, alarmed at the news of this diſaſter, and dreading the conſequences with which it might be attended at a time when a general battle was every moment expected, ordered his ſervants to bring him his horſe, which he inſtantly ſtabbed in the

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fight of the whole army: then kiſſing the hilt of his ſword, he ſwore, that he was firmly reſolved to ſhare the fate of the meaneſt ſoldier.

At the ſame time, in order to inſpire the troops with the greater courage, a proclamation was publiſhed, giving to every one who pleaſed full liberty to retire; but denouncing the ſevereſt vengeance againſt thoſe, who, in the enſuing action, ſhould betray the leaſt mark of treachery or cowardice.

Lord Falconbridge was ſent to retake the poſt which had been loſt: he croſſed the river a few miles above Ferrybridge, and attacking Clifford with great impetuoſity, he not only regained the paſſage, but entirely defeated the party, and ſlew their leader.

The two hoſtile armies met at Towton; and a deſperate and bloody battle enſued. While the Yorkiſts were advancing to the charge, there happened a great fall of ſnow, and a ſharp wind drove the ſleet full in the faces of the Lancaſtrians, diſordering their ſight in ſuch a manner, that they could not diſcern the diſtance between themſelves and the enemy.

The lord Falconbridge, who commanded the van of Edward's army, taking advantage of this accident, ordered his archers to

advance within ſhot of Henry's line, and let fly a ſhower of ſlight arrows, which were no ſooner diſcharged than they retired again to their former ſtation.

The Lancaſtrians feeling the effects of theſe arrows, imagined they were got within reach of the oppoſite army, and plied their bows until their quivers were exhauſted, without having done the leaſt execution. Then Falconbridge advanced again with his archers, who now ſhot their arrows without oppoſition, and killed a great number of the enemy, even with the ſhafts which they picked from the field, after their own quivers were empty.

The bow, however, was ſoon laid aſide, and the ſword decided the fate of the battle, which ended in a total defeat of the Lancaſtrians. Edward iſſued orders to give no quarter: the routed army was purſued to Tadcaſter with great ſlaughter and confuſion; and about thirty-ſix thouſand men are ſuppoſed to have fallen in the battle and purſuit. Among theſe were the earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, the lords Dacres and Willes, Sir John Nevil, Sir Andrew Trollop, and many other officers of diſtinction.

The earl of Devonſhire, who had lately eſpouſed the cauſe of Henry, was taken priſoner, and brought to York, where he

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was ſoon after beheaded by martial law. His head was placed on a pole over the gates of that city; and the head of duke Richard, and that of the earl of Saliſbury were taken down, and interred with their bodies.

Henry and Margaret, who had continued at York during the battle, were no ſooner informed of the defeat of their army, than they fled into Scotland with great precipitation. They were attended thither by the duke of Exeter, who, though he had married Edward's ſiſter, had embraced the party of the Lancaſtrians, and by Henry duke of Somerſet, who had commanded in the fatal battle of Towton, and who was the ſon of that nobleman who had loſt his life in the firſt battle of St. Albans.

A violent hatred and animoſity had always prevailed between the Scots and the Engliſh, who had never failed, upon any favourable occaſion, to take advantage of each other's diſtreſſes. But, notwithſtanding this diſpoſition, the Scots had, for ſome time paſt, been ſo circumſtanced, that they had either wanted the power or inclination to avail themſelves of thoſe calamities with which England was afflicted.

James I. more laudably employed in civilizing the rude and barbarous manners of his ſubjects, and inuring them to the ſalu-

tary yoke of law and juſtice, had carefully avoided all hoſtilities with foreign nations; and though he was concerned to preſerve a ballance between France and England, he afforded no other aid to the former kingdom, than by allowing, and perhaps encouraging his ſubjects to enliſt in the French ſervice.

After that virtuous prince had been cruelly murdered by his own uncle the earl of Athol, the minority of his ſon and ſucceſſor James II. and the diſſenſions with which ſuch a period is commonly attended, had contributed, in ſome meaſure, to keep the Scots in the ſame ſtate of inactivity; and the great ſuperiority which the French king gained over the Engliſh arms, rendered the future aſſiſtance of his allies altogether unneceſſary.

But when the quarrel began between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, and was enflamed to ſuch a degree of rancour and animoſity as to threaten the total deſtruction of one of the parties; James, who had now attained to man's eſtate, was tempted to embrace ſuch a favourable opportunity of regaining thoſe places which the Engliſh had taken from his anceſtors.

Accordingly, he inveſted the caſtle of Roxborough, and had provided himſelf with a ſmall train of artillery for the proſecu-

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tion of the ſiege; but his cannon were formed in ſuch a wretched and bungling manner, that one of them burſt while he was firing it, and put an end to his life in the flower of his age.

His ſon and ſucceſſor, James III. was likewiſe a minor: the kingdom was diſtracted with the jealouſies and diſſenſions incident to ſuch a ſtate: the queen dowager, Anne of Gueldres, laid claim to the regency: the family of Douglas aſpired to the ſame dignity: and queen Margaret, when ſhe arrived in Scotland, found there a people almoſt as much divided by faction and diſcord, as thoſe by whom ſhe had been driven from her own dominions.

Notwithſtanding the connexion between the royal family of Scotland and the houſe of Lancaſter, by the young king's grandmother, who was a daughter of the earl of Somerſet, ſhe could prevail upon the Scots to do no more than expreſs their good wiſhes for her ſucceſs; but when ſhe offered to cede them the important fortreſs of Berwick, and to affiance her ſon to a ſiſter of king James's, ſhe found them more favourably inclined to her cauſe; and they engaged to exert their utmoſt efforts in order to reſtore her family to the throne.

As Edward, however, was not apprehenſive of any immediate danger from that quarter, he did not think it neceſſary to purſue the fugitive king and queen into their retreat: he therefore returned to London, where a parliament was convoked for ſettling the affairs of the nation.

The ſeſſion was no ſooner opened, than Edward found the happy effects of the vigorous meaſures he had purſued, and the great ſucceſs with which they had been attended. The parliament was no longer divided between the two rival families, nor propoſed any of thoſe expedients, which, inſtead of ſecuring the peace of the kingdom, ſerved only to involve it in freſh calamities.

They acknowledged the title of Edward to the crown by hereditary right, through the family of Mortimer: they expreſſed their utter hatred and abhorrence of the uſurpation of the houſe of Lancaſter, particularly that of the earl of Derby, otherwiſe called Henry IV. which, they alledged, had been the occaſion of all the miſeries and calamities with which they had been ſince afflicted. They annulled every grant which had been made in the three preceding reigns: they reſtored to the king all the poſſeſſions which belonged to the crown at the pretended depoſition of Richard II.

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and they reverſed all the attainders that had paſſed againſt the friends of the houſe of York; eſpecially the attainder of the earl of Cambridge the king's grandfather; as well as that of the earls of Saliſbury and Glouceſter, and of lord Lumley, who were forfeited for adhering to Richard II.

Not ſatisfied with having thus ſhewn their regard to their friends and abettors, they reſolved to wreak their vengeance upon their adverſaries. They paſſed an act of attainder againſt Henry VI. his queen Margaret, and their infant ſon prince Edward: they exerciſed the ſame ſeverity againſt the dukes of Somerſet and Exeter, the earls of Northumberland, Devonſhire, Pembroke, Wilts, the viſcount Beaumont, the lords Roos, Nevil, Clifford, Wells, Dacres, Gray of Rugemont, Hungerford, Alexander Hedie, Nicholas Latimer, Edward Montfort, John Heron, and many other gentlemen of diſtinction: and they annexed to the crown the eſtates of all theſe attainted perſons, though their ſole crime was their adherence to a prince, whom every member of the parliament had ſo long acknowledged, and to whom, as to his lawful ſovereign, that very king, who now filled the throne, had ſo frequently ſworn allegiance.

But it was not more dangerous to declare openly againſt the ruling party, than to be

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ſubject to their jealouſy and ſuſpicion: all thoſe who did not eſpouſe their cauſe with zeal and warmth, were, of courſe, concluded to be their enemies, and were puniſhed accordingly. John earl of Oxford, a venerable old nobleman of unblemiſhed character, was arreſted on pretence of having engaged in a correſpondence with Margaret; and without having enjoyed the benefit of a trial was beheaded on Tower-hill, together with his ſon Aubery de Vere: Sir Thomas Todenham, Sir Walter Tirrel, Sir John Montgomery, and Sir Baldwin Fulford, were ſoon after condemned in the ſame ſummary manner, and underwent the like fate.

It is natural to think, that theſe cruel and arbitrary proceedings muſt diffuſe a ſpirit of diſſatisfaction and diſcontent againſt the preſent government, and make Edward ſuſpect the attachment and good will of his ſubjects.*

But he had not more reaſon to dread the diſpleaſure of his own people, than the attempts of foreign potentates. Lewis the eleventh of France, who had lately ſucceeded to his father Charles, was induced, by the motives of national intereſt, to feed the flames of civil diſcord among ſuch powerful

* A. D. 1462.

ful and dangerous neighbours, by affording aſſiſtance to the weaker party.

But the cunning and politic genius of this prince was here defeated by its own arts. Having attempted to humble the independant ſpirit of his own ſubjects, he had raiſed ſuch an oppoſition againſt his government, as effectually hindered him from availing himſelf of the great diſſenſions that prevailed among the Engliſh.*

Nevertheleſs, he ſent a ſmall body to Henry's aſſiſtance, under the command of Varenne, ſeneſchal of Normandy, who landed in Northumberland, and ſurprized the caſtle of Alnewick: but as Margaret ſoon repaired to France, where ſhe ſollicited larger ſuccours, and engaged to put Lewis in poſſeſſion of Calais, if ever her family ſhould recover the Engliſh throne, he was afterwards induced to furniſh her with a body of two thouſand men at arms; by which means ſhe was enabled to take the field, and make an incurſion into England.

Though ſtrengthened by a great number of Scottiſh adventurers, and by many adherents of the houſe of Lancaſter, ſhe received a check at Hedgeley-moor from lord Montague, brother to the earl of Warwick, and warden of the Eaſtern Marches between Scotland and England.

Edward

* A. D. 1463.

Edward being informed of these proceedings, determined to march against the enemy at the head of a numerous army: but Montague, encouraged by his late success, resolved to have the whole honour of defeating Margaret before the king's arrival; and accordingly advancing to Hexham, where her forces were entrenched, he attacked them in their lines, and obtained a complete victory.*

The duke of Somerset, the lords Roos, and Hungerford, W. Tailboye earl of Kyme, Sir John Finderne, and Sir Humphry Nevil, were taken prisoners in the pursuit: they were not suffered to languish in confinement: they were instantly tried by martial law, and found guilty of high-treason: the first was executed at Hexham, the last at York, and the rest suffered at Newcastle.

The defeat of Hexham gave a terrible blow to the affairs of the Lancaster family, whose fate, after this misfortune, was extremely remarkable.

Margaret with her young son took refuge in a neighbouring forest, where she endeavoured to conceal herself from the eager pursuit of the enemy; but she was attacked, during the darkness of the night, by

* A. D. 1464.

by a gang of robbers, who either ignorant or regardleſs of her quality, ſtripped her of her rings and jewels, and treated her with great rudeneſs and barbarity.

The diviſion of this rich booty occaſioned a quarrel among the banditti; and while they were contending with one another, ſhe took the opportunity of eſcaping with her ſon into the thickeſt part of the wood, where ſhe wandered for ſome time, exhauſted with hunger and fatigue, and oppreſſed with ſorrow and affliction. While in this deplorable ſituation, ſhe obſerved a robber advancing towards her with his drawn ſword; and finding it impoſſible to make her eſcape, ſhe embraced the brave and prudent reſolution of committing herſelf entirely to the faith and generoſity of the outlaw. Accordingly, ſhe approached him with an air of confidence and majeſty; and preſenting to him the young prince, "Here, "friend," cried ſhe, "ſave my ſon, the "ſon of good king Henry."

The man, whoſe humanity had been obſcured, but not extinguiſhed by his vicious courſe of life, was equally ſtruck with the beauty of her perſon, and the nature of her addreſs: he ſolemnly vowed not only to abſtain from all injury againſt her, but to devote himſelf entirely to her ſervice.

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He comforted her and the young prince with aſſurances of fidelity and protection; and carefully conducted them to a village near the ſea-ſide, where they found an opportunity of embarking in a veſſel for Flanders. They were received in a very hoſpitable manner by the duke of Burgundy, from whoſe court they repaired to that of Margaret's father, René count of Anjou.

Henry was not ſo fortunate in finding the means of his eſcape. Some of his friends took him under their care, and conveyed him into Lancaſhire, where he remained concealed for a twelvemonth; but he was, at laſt, diſcovered, and delivered into the hands of Edward, who committed him to cloſe cuſtody in the Tower of London.

The captivity of Henry, the baniſhment of Margaret, and the execution of all the moſt conſiderable Lancaſtrians, ſeemed to have eſtabliſhed the throne of Edward on a ſolid foundation; and his title to the crown being now recognized by parliament, and univerſally acknowledged by the people, was no longer in danger of being conteſted by any rival.

In this happy ſituation of affairs, the king reſigned himſelf, without controul, to the indulgence of thoſe pleaſures, which his youth, his high fortune, and his warm conſtitution naturally led him to enjoy;

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and the cares of government were leſs regarded than the diſſipation of amuſement and the allurement of paſſion. He lived in the moſt free and familiar manner with his ſubjects, particularly with the citizens of London; and the elegance of his perſon, as well as the politeneſs of his addreſs, which, even without the recommendation of his royal dignity, would have made him extremely agreeable to the fair ſex, rendered all his applications for their favour ſucceſsful.

This eaſy and pleaſurable life contributed greatly to increaſe his popularity; he was the darling of the young and gay of both ſexes: the temper of the Engliſh, little prone to jealouſy, kept them from being offended at theſe liberties: and his indulgence in pleaſnre, while it gratified his natural diſpoſition, was thus become the means of ſtrengthening and ſecuring his government. But as it is difficult, if not impoſſible, to reſtrain the ruling paſſion within the bounds of prudence, the amorous temper of Edward betrayed him into a meaſure, which proved very prejudicial to his future tranquillity, and had almoſt deprived him of the throne.

Jaqueline of Luxembourg, dutcheſs of Bedford, had, after her huſband's death, ſo far ſacrificed her ambition to love, that ſhe

married Sir Richard Wideville, a private gentleman, afterwards honoured with the title of lord Rivers, to whom ſhe bore ſeveral children, and among the reſt, Elizabeth, who was no leſs diſtinguiſhed by the beauty and elegance of her perſon, than the amiable diſpoſitions of her mind.

Elizabeth had eſpouſed Sir John Grey of Groby, by whom ſhe had children; and her huſband being ſlain in the ſecond battle of St. Albans, fighting for the family of Lancaſter, and his eſtate being on that account confiſcated, the young widow withdrew to her father's ſeat of Graſton in Northamptonſhire, where ſhe lived, for ſome time, in privacy and retirement.

Edward chancing to hunt in that county, went to pay a viſit to the dutcheſs of Bedford; and Elizabeth reſolved to embrace ſuch a favourable opportunity of obtaining ſome grace from this gallant monarch. Accordingly ſhe came into his preſence, and throwing herſelf at his feet, implored a maintenance for herſelf and children.

The ſight of ſo much beauty in diſtreſs made a deep impreſſion upon the amorous mind of Edward: love ſtole inſenſibly into his heart under the guiſe of compaſſion, from which, in its firſt emotions, it is not very different; and her ſorrow and affliction,

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graceful in a virtuous matron, recommended her no leſs to his eſteem and veneration, than her perſonal beauty made her the object of his affection.

He raiſed her from the ground with aſſurances of favour: he found his paſſion daily ſtrengthened by the company and converſation of the lovely widow; and he was ſoon obliged, in his turn, to become the ſuppliant of the woman whom he had lately ſeen on her knees before him.

But Elizabeth, either too virtuous to gratify his paſſion in a diſhonourable manner, or too ſenſible not to perceive that ſhe might eaſily raiſe herſelf to the higheſt rank, obſtinately refuſed to grant his requeſt; and all the entreaties, endearments, and careſſes of the young and amiable Edward, were unable to bend her rigid and ſtubborn virtue. She plainly told him, that, though ſhe was unworthy of being his queen, ſhe thought herſelf too good to be his concubine, and was therefore willing to remain in the humble ſtation in which providence had placed her.

His paſſion, inflamed by oppoſition, and heightened by his eſteem for ſuch honourable ſentiments, hurried him at laſt beyond the bounds of reaſon and prudence; and he offered to ſhare his throne, as well as his heart, with the woman whoſe perſonal and

mental accompliſhments ſeemed to render her ſo deſerving of both. The nuptials were ſecretly ſolemnized at Grafton: the marriage for ſome time was carefully concealed: nobody imagined, that a prince of Edward's character could ever be ſeized with ſuch a romantic paſſion; and there were, beſides, many and weighty reaſons which made ſuch a meaſure extremely dangerous and imprudent.

The king, deſirous to eſtabliſh his throne, as well by the proſpect of iſſue as by foreign alliances, had, a little before, reſolved to make application to ſome neighbouring princeſs; and he had caſt his eye on Bona of Savoy, ſiſter to the queen of France, by his marriage with whom, he imagined, he ſhould effectually ſecure the friendſhip of that power, which alone was both able and willing to ſupport the title of his rival.

In order to forward the negociation, the earl of Warwick had been ſent to Paris, where the princeſs then lived; he had demanded Bona in marriage for his ſovereign: the propoſal had been embraced: the contract was fully ſettled; and nothing remained but the ratification of the treaty, and the conducting the princeſs over into England.*

But

* A. D. 1465.

But the earl of Warwick was no ſooner informed of Edward's clandeſtine marriage, which he conſidered as the higheſt inſult that could have been offered to his honour, than he inſtantly broke off the negociation and returned to England, boiling with rage and indignation.

The force of paſſion in ſo young a man as Edward, might have eaſily furniſhed him with an apology, had he thought proper to acknowledge his error, or had pleaded his weakneſs in extenuation of his fault: but his falſe modeſty, or his fooliſh pride, hindered him from once mentioning the affair to Warwick: and that nobleman was ſuffered to leave the court with the ſame ſpirit of diſcontent and diſſatisfaction which he had brought to it.

Every thing now tended to encreaſe the miſunderſtanding between the king and this powerful ſubject. The queen did not fail to improve the advantage which her marriage gave her: ſhe was equally careful to procure every favour and grace to her own friends and adherents, and to exclude thoſe of the earl, whom ſhe conſidered as her inveterate and implacable enemy. Her father was advanced to the dignity of earl of Rivers: he was appointed lord-treaſurer, in

the room of lord Montjoy: and he obtained the office of conſtable for life, with the ſurvivancy to his eldeſt ſon.

The ſame young nobleman was married to the only daughter and heireſs of lord Scales, poſſeſſed the great eſtate of that family, and had the title of Scales beſtowed upon him. Catherine, the queen's ſiſter, was given in marriage to the young duke of Buckingham, who was a ward of the crown: Mary, another of her ſiſters, was matched with William Herbert, created earl of Huntingdon: and Anne, a third ſiſter, eſpouſed the ſon and heir of Grey, lord Ruthyn, who was honoured with the title of earl of Kent.

The daughter and heireſs of the duke of Exeter, who was alſo the king's niece, was betrothed to Sir Thomas Grey, one of the queen's ſons by her former huſband; and as the lord Montague was negociating a marriage between his ſon and this lady, the preference given to young Grey was regarded as an injury and affront to the whole family of Nevil.*

The earl of Warwick could not bear the leaſt diminution of that influence which he had ſo long maintained, and to which, he imagined, the great and important ſervices he

* A. D. 1466.

he had performed to Edward, gave him ſo good a title. Though he had obtained ſo many grants from the crown, that the annual revenues of them alone exceeding the ſum of eighty thouſand crowns; his high and ambitious ſpirit was ſtill unſatisfied, while he ſaw himſelf ſurpaſſed in credit and authority by any other ſubject.

Edward alſo, jealous of that power which had placed him on the throne, and which had been ſtill further encreaſed by his liberality and munificence, was glad to counterballance the unlimited authority of the earl of Warwick, by raiſing up rivals to him among the new nobility; and thus, while he indulged his extreme partiality to the queen's relations, he pretended to be guided merely by motives of national intereſt.

But the ancient nobility of England, diſguſted at the ſudden growth and immenſe power of the Widevilles, were more generally diſpoſed to ſupport the intereſt of the earl of Warwick, whoſe ſuperiority they were already accuſtomed to bear, and of whoſe frank and open behaviour they were all profeſſed admirers.

And as Edward procured from parliament a general reſumption of all the grants which had been made ſince his acceſſion to the throne, and which had greatly impaired the royal

royal revenue, this act, though accompanied with ſome exceptions, was extremely diſagreeable to all the nobility, and highly offended many of thoſe who were zealouſly attached to the intereſt of the Yorkiſts.*

But the moſt powerful confederate, whom Warwick engaged in his party, was George duke of Clarence, the king's ſecond brother. This prince was no leſs diſſatisfied, than the other grandees, at the great and extenſive influence of the queen and her relations; and as the king had excluded him from all offices of truſt and profit, and all ſhare in the adminiſtration of government, he was ſtrongly inclined to join in the oppoſition.

The favourable opportunity of ſecuring Clarence was at once diſcovered by the earl of Warwick, who offered him in marriage his eldeſt daughter, and co-heireſs of his immenſe fortunes; a ſettlement, which, as it was ſuperior to any thing that the king himſelf could beſtow upon him, effectually attached him to the earl's party.

Thus a ſtrong and powerful oppoſition was inſenſibly formed againſt Edward and his miniſtry: though the deſign of the aſſociates

* A. D. 1467.

aſſociates was not, perhaps, at preſent to dethrone his majeſty, it was hard to ſay to what violent extremities they might, at laſt, be carried; and as moſt differences between the prince and the people, were, in thoſe ages, decided by force of arms, theſe intrigues and confederacies were likely to be productive of civil wars and commotions.

Edward foreſaw the impending danger, and reſolved to fortify himſelf againſt the blow, by contracting alliances with foreign princes.

The dark and inſatiable ambition of Lewis XI. the more generally it was known, the greater apprehenſions it raiſed among all his neighbours and vaſſals; and as he was poſſeſſed of great abilities, and reſtrained by no principles of faith or honour, they found no ſecurity to themſelves, but in a mutual league and combination againſt him.

Philip, duke of Burgundy, being lately dead, was ſucceeded in his title and dominions by his only ſon Charles, whoſe martial diſpoſition, and brave achievements, procured him the ſurname of Hardy; and whoſe ambition, more unbounded than that of Lewis, but ſupported by leſs power and policy, was regarded with a more indulgent

dulgent eye by the other potentates of Europe.

The interference of intereſts, and, ſtill more a natural antipathy of temper, occaſioned a violent hatred and animoſity between theſe two bad princes; and Edward was thus ſure of obtaining the ſincere friendſhip of either of them, whoſe cauſe he ſhould think proper to eſpouſe.

The duke of Burgundy, being ſprung by his mother, a daughter of the king of Portugal, from John of Gaunt, was, of courſe, diſpoſed to wiſh well to the family of Lancaſter; but this circumſtance was more than over-ballanced by political conſiderations: and Charles finding the intereſt of that houſe to be almoſt extinct in England, diſpatched his natural brother, commonly called the Baſtard of Burgundy, to propoſe a marriage between him and Margaret the king's ſiſter.*

The friendſhip of Burgundy was more agreeable to the Engliſh than that of France: the commercial intereſts of the two nations were more cloſely connected: the jealouſy and ſuſpicion which both princes entertained of the growing power and dangerous deſigns of the French monarch naturally led them to an alliance againſt ſuch a formidable

* A. D. 1468.

midable neighbour; and Edward, happy in fortifying himſelf by ſo powerful an ally, immediately accepted the propoſals, and gave his ſiſter in marriage to Charles.

A league which Edward made at the ſame time with the duke of Brittany, ſeemed ſtill further to eſtabliſh his throne, and to afford him a proſpect of recovering thoſe provinces which had formerly belonged to the Engliſh crown. But whatever ambitious projects the king might have formed in conſequence of theſe alliances, they were ſoon defeated by inteſtine commotions, which engroſſed his whole attention.

Whether it was Warwick's original intention to take up arms againſt his ſovereign we will not take upon us to determine; certain it is, he had lately ſuſtained ſo many injuries and inſults as well from the king as the family of the Widevilles, that he reſolved to heſitate no longer about the means of doing himſelf juſtice, but inſtantly to proceed to extremities.

He had lately retired to his government of Calais, in order to ſolemnize his daughter's marriage with the duke of Clarence; and while he reſided in this place, he ſeems to have tried the pulſe of the Engliſh nation by raiſing an inſurrection in Yorkſhire. The people refuſing to contribute to the ſupport of the ancient hoſpital of St. Leonard

nard near York, they were tried at law and their goods distrained; and as they imagined the hospital was maintained by voluntary contribution, they considered these suits as extremely unjust and oppressive.

This discontent was encreased to such a degree, that they rose in arms, and assembling to the number of fifteen thousand, directed their march towards the city of York, which was filled with terror and consternation, until Warwick's brother Montague threw himself into the town with a small body of choice soldiers; and, in a sally, took Robert Hillyard their leader, commonly called Robin of Riddesdale, whom he ordered to immediate execution.

The peasants were not dispirited by this misfortune; but, pitching upon Sir Henry Nevil, son of lord Latimer, and Sir John Conyers, as their leaders, they proceeded to Danesmore in Northamptonshire, about three miles from Banbury.*

The king had commanded the late earl of Pembroke to march against the rebels, at the head of twelve thousand Welchmen, who were further reinforced by Humphry Stafford, lately made earl of Devon, with a body of five thousand archers; but the two chiefs quarrelling about lodgings at Banbury,

* A. D. 1469.

bury, they ſeparated their forces, and Pembroke, venturing a battle, was defeated and ſlain. Sir Henry Nevil had been made priſoner in a ſkirmiſh the night before the battle, and killed in cold blood: an act of barbarity, which enraged the Yorkſhire men to ſuch a degree, that they gave no quarter to the Welch, five thouſand of whom were left dead upon the ſpot.

The earl of Devon was apprehended in his return, and, by the king's order, was beheaded at Bridgewater; and Richard earl of Rivers, with his ſon John, being ſeized at Grafton, by a party of the rebels, underwent the ſame fate at Northampton, by command of Sir John Conyers, who, without having done any other miſchief, withdrew to Warwick, to wait the arrrival of the earl from Calais, by whoſe direction he had hitherto acted.

Edward was either ignorant of this circumſtance, or he thought it moſt prudent to temporize; for when Warwick, and his ſon-in-law Clarence, came over from Calais, and offered their aſſiſtance towards reſtoring the tranquillity of the nation, he not only received them with an appearance of ſatisfaction, but even appointed Warwick chief juſticiary of South Wales, conſtable of the caſtle of Cardigan, and ſeneſchal of all the courts and foreſts in the counties of

Carmarthen and Cardigan, offices which had become vacant by the death of the earl of Pembroke. He was likewiſe perſuaded to publiſh an amneſty in favour of Conyers and his followers, who by this time were encreaſed to the number of ſixty thouſand men.

As a general ſpirit of diſcontent prevailed through the nation, and Margaret of Anjou, with her ſon and a ſmall body of troops, was ſaid to be at Harfleur in Normandy, ready to embark and take advantage of the diſturbances of England, commiſſions of array were iſſued for raiſing the militia of Norfolk, Suffolk, and other maritime counties; and the queen's brother Anthony, now earl of Rivers, was ſent to ſea with a ſtrong ſquadron, to oppoſe any attempt which the enemy might make upon the kingdom.

Whatever ſuſpicions Edward might entertain of Warwick, he ſeems to have been reſolved to ſecure the friendſhip of his brother Montague, perhaps with a view to diminiſh the power of the earl, which was become formidable even to the crown itſelf.

In a great council, aſſembled on the ſixth day of November, he aſked the advice of the prelates and nobility, about providing a proper huſband for his daughter Elizabeth,

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preſumptive heir to the crown of England; and they unanimouſly agreed in recommending George, the ſon of Montague, as the moſt eligible match for the young princeſs. Their opinion was readily approved by the king, who, by letters patent, promoted that young nobleman to the dignity of duke of Bedford.

Such a mark of the king's indulgence could not fail to be agreeable to Warwick and his brothers, who began to live on very good terms with Edward, until their harmony was unhappily diſſolved by an artifice of the miniſtry, who were jealous of the revival of the intereſt of the Nevils.*

Edward, while he reſided at Langley in Hertfordſhire, was invited by the archbiſhop of York, one of Warwick's brothers, to an entertainment at his ſeat of More-park in that neighbourhood; and while the gueſts, according to the cuſtom of the time, were waſhing their hands before ſupper, John Ratcliffe, afterwards lord Fitzwalter, told the king privately, that the archbiſhop had collected a body of an hundred men at arms, in order to ſeize and conduct his majeſty to the caſtle of Middleham. Edward, ſtartled at this intimation, which was equally groundleſs and improbable, made a pre-

* A. D. 1470.

tence to go to the door; and, taking his horſe, he rode to Windſor at full gallop.

Such a ſudden and unexpected departure was highly reſented by the archbiſhop, as well as by Warwick and his ſon-in-law Clarence, who were firmly perſuaded that it was a plot formed on purpoſe to ruin their characters with the public; the former animoſity was revived with greater violence than ever, and both ſides upbraided each other with uncommon acrimony and bitterneſs.

Cicely, dutcheſs of York, the king's mother, attempted to reconcile the contending parties, and they met at her houſe in Baynard's caſtle; but their mutual hatred was too ſtrong and inveterate to be removed at this interview.

Notwithſtanding this circumſtance, Edward gave a commiſſion to Clarence and Warwick to array men in the counties of Warwick and Worceſter, in order to quell an inſurrection in Lincolnſhire, raiſed by Robert, the ſon of Richard lord Willes, Sir Thomas Dymock, and Sir Thomas de la Launde.

The pretext for this commotion was the arbitrary conduct of Sir Thomas Burgh, an officer of the king's houſhold, who had oppreſſed the people with intolerable exactions; but it was afterwards found that War-

Warwick and Clarence had encouraged the leaders to excite the diſturbance.

Edward ordered lord Willes and Dymock to repair to London, and give an account of the inſurrection. They accordingly ſet out on their journey; but hearing by the way that the king was enraged againſt them, as the authors of the rebellion, they fled for refuge to Weſtminſter-abbey.

From this retreat, however, they were perſuaded to come forth, on receiving the king's promiſe of a pardon; and the lord Willes, by Edward's command, wrote a letter to his ſon, requiring him to lay down his arms, and throw himſelf upon the king's mercy. But this order the young nobleman refuſed to obey; and Edward, marching againſt him to Stamford, was ſo provoked at his obſtinacy, that he cauſed his father and Dymock to be beheaded.

This cruel and inhuman deed incenſed him to ſuch a degree, that, although his army was compoſed of raw and undiſciplined troops, and he expected every moment to be reinforced by Warwick and Clarence, who were haſtening to his relief with a ſtrong body of men, he determined to revenge his father's death without delay, and attacked Edward with irreſiſtible impetuoſity, on the fourteenth day of March.

The fight was maintained, for ſome time, with equal obſtinacy on both ſides; but, at length, the rebels were obliged to yield to the ſuperior valour and diſcipline of the royaliſts, and were routed with great ſlaughter. Ten thouſand men are ſuppoſed to have fallen in this engagement; and the general, with Sir Thomas de la Launde, being taken priſoners, were executed immediately after the action.

In the mean time, Warwick and Clarence repaired into Lancaſhire, in hopes of being joined by Thomas lord Stanley, who had eſpouſed the earl's ſiſter; and from thence they propoſed to march into Yorkſhire, where they imagined they ſhould be reinforced by thoſe inſurgents who had riſen under Sir John Conyers.

In order to accompliſh this junction, they employed emiſſaries to circulate reports that the king deſigned to recall the pardon he had granted; but, notwithſtanding all their endeavours, they were diſappointed in both expectations. Stanley declined to engage in their enterprize; and the king got the ſtart of them in Yorkſhire, where he iſſued a proclamation ratifying and confirming the former amneſty.

The two leaders, being thus baffled, withdrew into the weſtern parts of England; and, in their march, ſurprized the earl of Rivers

Rivers and lord Audeley, whom they committed to cuſtody in the caſtle of Wardour, from whence they were afterwards delivered by John Thornhill, a gentleman of Dorſetſhire.

While Clarence and Warwick were preparing ſome veſſels to tranſport them and their families to Calais, Edward obliged Warwick's brother, John Nevil, to reſign what he enjoyed of the Piercy eſtate, with his patent for the title of Northumberland; and, by way of equivalent, advanced him to the dignity of marquis of Montacute.

In conſequence of his reſignation, Henry Piercy was declared earl of Northumberland, reſtored to all his eſtate, and conſtituted warden of the eaſt and middle Marches towards Scotland. John Tiptot, earl of Worceſter, and conſtable of England for life, was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland in the room of the duke of Clarence, upon whoſe head, as well as upon that of his father-in-law, a price was ſet by the government.

At the ſame time, the king iſſued a declaration, importing, that George duke of Clarence and Richard earl of Warwick had formed an unnatural deſign to deprive his majeſty of the crown; that they had encouraged Sir Robert Willes in his rebellion, with promiſe of aſſiſtance, as was evident

dent from the confeſſion of the ſaid Sir Robert, and Sir Thomas de la Launde; that the king had ordered the duke and earl to appear in his preſence, and vindicate themſelves from theſe imputations; but inſtead of complying with his injunction, they had gone into Lancaſhire, in order to aſſemble a greater number of forces with which they propoſed to accompliſh their wicked purpoſe; that, notwithſtanding theſe repeated acts of rebellion, he was willing to grant them a pardon, provided they would throw themſelves upon his mercy, and give ſecurity for their peaceable behaviour; and with that view he now ſummoned them to appear before him by the twenty-eighth day of March, on pain of being declared rebels and traitors.

As they refuſed to comply with this order, another proclamation was iſſued at Nottingham on the thirty-firſt day of March, denouncing them rebels and traitors; offering a reward for ſeizing their perſons; and forbidding all his majeſty's ſubjects, on the ſevereſt penalties, to afford them any relief or aſſiſtance.

That Clarence and Warwick might not have time to collect an army in the weſtern counties, Edward advanced into thoſe parts with great expedition; and from Exeter ſent commiſſions to the earl of Wilts, the

the lord Montjoye, Sir John Forteſcue, and others for raiſing the militia in Devon and Cornwall; but before theſe troops could be aſſembled, Clarence and Warwick ſet ſail from Dartmouth.

When they endeavoured to enter the harbour of Calais, the cannon of the place were fired upon them; ſo that they were obliged to ſtand out to ſea: and the dutcheſs of Clarence falling in labour, was brought to bed of a ſon, called Edward, who was afterwards earl of Warwick.

The grandfather of the child was highly incenſed at meeting with ſuch inhuman treatment from his own lieutenant Vaucler, a Gaſcon, who, nevertheleſs, agreed to the infant's being chriſtened in the place, and found means to acquaint the earl with the meaning of his unexpected behaviour.

The place was not able to ſuſtain a ſiege againſt the united arms of Edward, and the duke of Burgundy: the inhabitants were afraid of loſing their trade; and the lord Duras, who was Warwick's enemy, commanded a good part of the garriſon.

For theſe reaſons Vaucler adviſed the earl, as the moſt prudent courſe, to retire into France, and truſt to his fidelity. Perhaps this Gaſcon played a double game, and determined to join with the ſtrongeſt party; but his conduct, in the mean time, was

was so agreeable to Edward, that he obtained the government of the place, and received a pension of a thousand crowns from the duke of Burgundy.

Warwick, being obliged to admit of his excuses, directed his course towards Normandy: in a few days after he landed at Honfleur, where he met with a very friendly reception from the Bastard of Bourbon, lieutenant-general of the province; and from thence he and his son-in-law repaired to the court of France at Amboise, where they were hospitably entertained by Lewis XI.

Lewis would not interfere in the affairs of England, while the two rival families were contending for the crown; but now that Edward had engaged in such a strict alliance with the duke of Burgundy, he was induced, from the motives of interest, to attempt the ruin of both; and to this he was the rather inclined, because while he consulted the good of his kingdom, he should, at the same time, have an opportunity of revenging the affront he had received from Edward in the affair of the marriage.

Moreover, the succours which that monarch designed to send to the duke of Brittany, plainly shewed, that while he should enjoy the crown of England, the princes

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of France would always apply to him for protection.

Influenced by these and the like considerations, Lewis not only received the English fugitives with great hospitality; but also promised them a powerful assistance.

That the civil war, which he hoped to re-kindle in England, might rage with the greater violence, he determined, if possible, to effect an accommodation between Margaret of Anjou and Warwick; and in the mean time sent for that princess, who had retired to her father's court.

She considered Warwick as the original source of all those calamities in which himself and her family had been involved; and the most implacable and rancorous animosity prevailed between them: nevertheless the reconciliation was easily accomplished, because they stood in need of each other.

Warwick wanted a pretext for dethroning Edward, and he could think of none so specious and plausible as the restoration of Henry; a project, which he could not attempt without the consent of the queen. Margaret, on the other hand, had no hopes of seeing her family replaced on the throne without the assistance of the earl of Warwick; and therefore she made no difficulty

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in accepting, and even ſolliciting, the aid of her ancient enemy.

Lewis acted as mediator between them; and a treaty was at laſt concluded, on condition that the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick ſhould employ all their power and intereſt for Henry's reſtoration; that the queen ſhould promiſe, upon oath, to entruſt the adminiſtration to them, during the life of Henry, or the minority of his ſon, in caſe he ſhould aſcend the throne before he ſhould be of age; and that the prince of Wales ſhould eſpouſe Anne, the younger daughter of the earl of Warwick. This laſt article was immediately carried into execution; by which means the earl of Warwick became equally allied to the houſes of York and Lancaſter.

The duke of Burgundy, receiving intelligence of this agreement, tranſmitted an account of it to Edward, who paid very little regard to the intimation; imagining that the earl of Warwick, who had been forced to leave his country for want of proper aſſiſtance, could never be able in his abſence to perſuade the people of England to riſe in his favour.

He was not in the leaſt afraid of the preparations of France, becauſe he was perſuaded, that England could never be ſubdued by any foreign power, unleſs the people

ple ſhould aſſiſt in reducing themſelves to ſlavery; and building his hopes upon very uncertain principles, namely, the attachment of his ſubjects to his perſon and government, and Warwick's want of credit and influence, he neglected to take the neceſſary precautions for his own defence, and abandoned himſelf, without controul, to all the pleaſures of riot and debauchery.

While he indulged himſelf in theſe inglorious delights, his miniſters gratified their private reſentment by ſuch acts of cruelty and oppreſſion, as fixed an indelible mark of infamy on the character of their maſter.

John Clapham, one of Warwick's officers, with about twenty other gentlemen, being taken priſoners in a naval engagement near Southampton, were condemned as traitors by the earl of Worceſter, conſtable of England, and executed with ſuch circumſtances of barbarity as, inſtead of filling the ſpectators with fear and apprehenſion, inſpired them with the moſt implacable hatred and indignation againſt the authors of the horrid ſcene.

All perſons of any rank, ſuſpected of attachment to the houſe of Lancaſter, were proſecuted, plundered, forced into ſanctuary, or driven into exile: many of theſe refugees eſcaped into France, and gave an

account of the diſpoſition of the nation to the earl of Warwick, whom they earneſtly importuned to return to his own country, where all ſorts of people wiſhed for his preſence.

However indifferent Edward was about the deſigns and preparations of the earl of Warwick, he was extremely unhappy to find that his own brother Clarence was embarked in the ſame confederacy; and he therefore reſolved to exert his utmoſt efforts in order to detach him from his connexion with that nobleman.

With this view he gained over to his ſide a female domeſtic and favourite of the dutcheſs; and after having given her the neceſſary inſtructions, he furniſhed her with a paſſport, by virtue of which ſhe was ſuffered to croſs the ſea to her miſtreſs.

The woman did not fail to execute her commiſſion with equal ability and ſucceſs. She repreſented to the duke, in the name of his brother, that by engaging in the party of Warwick, he only haſtened his own ruin; for, if the ſchemes of that nobleman ſhould be crowned with ſucceſs, he could not expect that the family of Lancaſter would repoſe any confidence in a prince of the houſe of York; or even ſuffer him to live, after they ſhould have accompliſhed their purpoſe: that, inſtead of relying

relying on the oath of Margaret, he ought to regard it as a plot contrived to effect his deſtruction: that the earl of Warwick would be the firſt to oppreſs him, as well with a view to engroſs into his own hands the ſole adminiſtration of public affairs, as to free himſelf from the deſigns of a prince, who might one day be able to retaliate the wrongs of his family; that his brother Edward having but one child, and that an infant, whom death might remove, he was next heir to the crown; whereas, ſhould the houſe of Lancaſter be reſtored, he muſt relinquiſh all hopes of attaining to that dignity, as Henry's ſon was healthy and vigorous, and would, in all likelihood, leave a numerous iſſue.

Theſe arguments were ſtrengthened by the conſiderations of conſanguinity, and by warm profeſſions of friendſhip and ſtrong promiſes of favour to Clarence, who, being naturally of a fickle and inconſtant temper, was eaſily perſuaded to comply with his brother's requeſt: he accordingly deſired the agent to acquaint the king, that he was firmly reſolved to return to his allegiance to his majeſty, and that he would not fail to declare openly in his favour, as ſoon as a favourable opportunity ſhould offer of doing him any conſiderable ſervice.

Edward was informed of this reſolution, which entirely freed him from all apprehenſion; and he wholly reſigned himſelf to the indulgence of his pleaſures, in full confidence that all the ſchemes of the earl of Warwick would prove ineffectual, as he was no longer aſſiſted by the intereſt of Clarence.

While Edward lived in this deceitful ſecurity, the earl having obtained a ſmall ſupply in money and troops from Lewis, reſolved to embark for England, under the convoy of ſome French ſhips of war, commanded by the Baſtard of Bourbon. The duke of Burgundy, however, blocked up the mouth of the Seine, with a much more formidable fleet, in order to attack Warwick, ſhould he attempt to paſs over to England.

But all his precautions were defeated by a ſtorm that diſperſed his ſquadron; and the earl of Warwick taking advantage of this circumſtance, embarked at Havre de Grace, and landed ſafely at Dartmouth, in the month of September.

Edward affected to rejoice at his arrival, in full aſſurance that his ſcheme muſt miſcarry, and his enemy fall into his hands. Poſſeſſed with this notion, he deſired the duke of Burgundy to keep his fleet at ſea, in order to intercept the earl of Warwick,

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ſhould he endeavour to return to the Continent; but he ſoon found the folly of his expectation.

Warwick had no ſooner landed, than his countrymen flocked to him in ſuch numbers, that, in a few days, he collected an army of ſixty thouſand men, with whom he began to advance againſt Edward, who had gone into the North to ſuppreſs an inſurrection, raiſed in Yorkſhire by the lord Fitzhugh, married to Alice, ſiſter to the earl of Warwick. His intention, in all probability, was to make a diverſion in favour of his brother-in-law, and this point he effectually carried.

At the king's approach he fled into Scotland, and Edward repaired to York, where he firſt underſtood that Warwick had landed and proclaimed Henry VI. king of England; publiſhing, at the ſame time, an order to all his ſubjects, from ſixteen to ſixty, to take up arms againſt Edward, and expel the tyrant and uſurper.

The king immediately proceeded to Nottingham in his way to London; but Warwick being determined to attack him before he ſhould reach the capital, where he knew his intereſt was very great, came in ſight of him within three miles of Nottingham, and drew up his men in order of battle.

Edward, though poſſeſſed of perſonal courage and military ſkill, was, by no means, a politician. He was ſo fooliſh as to truſt to the fidelity of the marquis of Montacute, though the brother of his enemy, and a nobleman whom he had ſo lately offended by ſtripping him of the great eſtate and honour of Northumberland.

Montacute had aſſembled a body of ſix thouſand men, with whom he followed the king at a diſtance, as if he had intended to join his majeſty; but his real deſign was to aſſiſt his brother, and he had already ſettled the whole affair with his officers.

Accordingly, he no ſooner learned that Warwick was ſo near the royaliſts, than he advanced with great expedition, in order to attack the rear of Edward, who had no notice of his deſign, until he was within two leagues of his camp, and the ſhouts of long live king Henry reſounded from all quarters.

In this dilemma he called a council of war, in which the lord Haſtings gave it as his opinion, that moſt part of the army would deſert to the earl of Warwick; or that even, though they ſhould preſerve their fidelity, they would not be able to make head againſt the rebels, who were ſo greatly ſuperior in number, and were now farther

ther reinforced by the revolt of the marquis of Montacute. He therefore adviſed his majeſty to conſult his own ſafety, by retiring to the ſea-ſide, where he might find an opportunity of making his eſcape into Holland.

As the danger was ſo preſſing, Edward embraced this advice without heſitation; and immediately ſet out at midnight for Lynne, without money or baggage, accompanied only by eight hundred light horſe: finding in the harbour of that town three or four ſhips bound for Holland, he inſtantly ſet ſail with his brother Glouceſter and a ſmall retinue; and after having narrowly eſcaped a fleet of Eaſterlings, landed ſafely at Alkman.

In the morning after Edward's departure, his army laid down their arms and ſubmitted to Warwick, who immediately directed his route towards London, which he entered amidſt the acclamations of the people on the firſt day of October, and conveyed Henry VI. from the Tower to the biſhop's palace; while Edward's queen took ſanctuary in the abbey of Weſtminſter, where ſhe was brought to bed of a ſon named Edward.

In conſequence of this ſtrange and ſudden revolution, which had been accompliſhed in the ſpace of eleven days, without bloodſhed,

all

all the judges, ſheriffs, and coroners of the kingdom, were removed from their places: the office of treaſurer was beſtowed upon Lanſtrother, prior of St. John's; the poſt of chancellor was conferred on the archbiſhop of York; Warwick was appointed admiral of England; and the duke of Clarence was created lord lieutenant of Ireland.

On this occaſion no perſon was put to death except John Tiptot, earl of Worceſter, who ſeems to have fallen a ſacrifice to the public hatred. He was a corrupt and avaricious miniſter, and ſuch a monſter of cruelty and oppreſſion, that he was commonly ſtigmatized by the name of John the Butcher. Being taken on the top of a high tree, in the foreſt of Wavebrig in Huntingdonſhire, he was conveyed to London, tried in Weſtminſter-hall by John earl of Oxford, found guilty of high treaſon, condemned, and executed on Tower-hill.

Writs were immediately publiſhed for convoking a parliament, which aſſembled on the twenty-ſixth day of November. Edward was declared a traitor and uſurper; his eſtate and effects were confiſcated; all ſtatutes enacted by his authority were annulled; and the duke of Glouceſter, and all his adherents, were attainted. The crown was ſettled upon Henry, and the male iſſue of his body; and, in default thereof, on the duke of

of Clarence and his deſcendants: and this prince, and the earl of Warwick, were appointed regents of the kingdom, during the minority of young Edward, according to the convention of Amboiſe.

At the ſame time Clarence was declared heir to his father the late duke of York, reinſtated in all his poſſeſſions, and favoured with other advantageous grants of fee-farm rents, manors, and honours, particularly that of Richmond. The marquis of Montacute was indulged with a pardon for his late adherence to Edward, and rewarded for his laſt defection with a grant of Wreſel, and ſome other manors: and the dukes of Somerſet and Exeter, and the earls of Oxford, Richmond, Pembroke, and Ormond, were, all of them, reſtored to their eſtates and dignities.

Mean while, the fugitive Edward met with a very indifferent reception from his brother-in-law, the duke of Burgundy, whoſe affairs, by this unexpected revolution, were thrown into the utmoſt confuſion and perplexity.

Lewis XI. had juſt declared war againſt him, and taken poſſeſſion of St. Quintin and Amiens; and now, that Edward was deprived of his crown, he was afraid of expoſing himſelf to the united arms of France and

and England, ſhould he ſupport the exiled monarch.

The dukes of Somerſet and Exeter, who ſtill remained at his court, earneſtly importuned him to deſert the cauſe of Edward, and even threatened him, in caſe of refuſal, with the ſevereſt effects of Henry's vengeance; and the earl of Warwick had already ſent a body of troops to Calais, that they might be ready to join the French, and attack ſome province of the Low Countries.

When the duke ſent Philip de Comenes to Calais, to renew the commercial truce between the inhabitants of that town and his Flemiſh ſubjects, he found Vaucler the governor, with his garriſon and all the burghers, wearing Warwick's device, and profeſſing their attachment to the government of Henry.

Finding it impoſſible to ſucceed in his ſcheme by any other means, he obſerved, that the truce having been concluded with England, and not with the perſon of Edward, it ought not to be diſſolved by the late revolution; and as this trade was very beneficial to the nation, the truce was, upon theſe principles, renewed.

Edward's genius was much better calculated to make a figure in adverſity, than in proſperity. He had hitherto continued at the

the Hague, living at the expence of the lord Gruthuyſen, extremely chagrined at the coldneſs and reſerve of his brother-in-law, whoſe aid and aſſiſtance he had endeavoured to procure by the ſolicitations of his ſiſter, the dutcheſs of Burgundy. Perceiving, however, that nothing was to be expected from her mediation, he demanded an interview with the duke himſelf, which the other could not decently refuſe.

At this conference he repreſented, that delays would be extremely prejudicial to his intereſt, as his credit and influence in England muſt gradually decline, while Warwick would daily be more and more confirmed in that power and authority which he he had uſurped; that, therefore, the duke ought either to give him immediate aſſiſtance, or abandon him entirely to his evil fortune.

In order to ſtrengthen this argument, he acquainted him with the agreement he had made with his brother Clarence: he reminded him of the mutual oath they had taken, to aid and aſſiſt each other in caſe of neceſſity: he begged him to reflect, that, in ſupporting him in his diſtreſs, he would act for the intereſt of his own family, which might one day ſtand in need of ſuch aſſiſtance; and, at the ſame time, have the glory

glory of re-eſtabliſhing a brother-in-law upon his throne.

He ſolemnly engaged to enter into a ſtrict alliance with him againſt France, as ſoon as he ſhould be reſtored to his ſovereignty; and remarked, that the neutrality which the duke had hitherto obſerved, could not be productive of any one advantage, nor even prevent Lewis and the earl of Warwick from concerting the means of affecting his ruin.

Theſe arguments made an impreſſion upon the mind of the duke of Burgundy; and as he was ſtill afraid of giving Warwick a pretext for invading his dominions, he fell upon an expedient by which he was enabled to ſerve the fugitive king, without incurring the reſentment of this powerful nobleman.*

He privately advanced a ſum of money to certain merchants, who fitted out four large ſhips at Terveer, which was a free port in Zealand; and hired fourteen veſſels belonging to the Eaſterlings, to convoy Edward to England, on the coaſt of which they were directed to continue fifteen days after his landing, in order to conduct him back, in caſe his attempt ſhould prove ineffectual.

The

* A. D. 1471.

The king of England, being thus furniſhed with ſhips and money, embarked at Terveer; and he had no ſooner departed from Holland, than the duke of Burgundy iſſued a proclamation, prohibiting all his ſubjects, on pain of death, from affording him any aſſiſtance, either directly or indirectly.

But if Edward's enterprize had happened to fail, this artifice would not have deceived the earl of Warwick, who, at this juncture, agreed to a long truce with Lewis, to ſupply the place of an alliance, which could not be immediately concluded, on account of Henry's pretenſions to the crown of France; and, at the ſame time, the earl ſent the prior of the order of St. John of Jeruſalem, to convey Margaret, and the prince of Wales, from France into England.

Edward, ſetting ſail from Terveer, with the lords Haſtings and Say, and about fifteen hundred men, partly Engliſh and partly Flemings, attempted a deſcent upon the county of Eſſex; but finding the coaſt guarded by a brother of the earl of Oxford, he directed his courſe towards the north, and landed at Ravenſpur in Yorkſhire, about the latter end of March; hoping that the people of thoſe parts would flock to his ſtandard, as ſoon as he ſhould ſhew the letters of invitation which he had received from the earl of Northumberland.

But, though he was ſuffered to land without oppoſition, he met with a very indifferent reception; and the inhabitants of Holderneſs took up arms in order to check his progreſs. He was likewiſe informed by his emiſſaries, that the people of York were by no means diſpoſed to acknowledge him as the ſovereign of England.

He, therefore, declared himſelf a liegeman of king Henry, aſſumed the badge of the prince of Wales, which was an oſtrich feather, and proteſted that his only intention was to recover poſſeſſion of the dutchy of his father.

Truſting to the effect of this declaration, and the attachment of the people of York, of which he was entirely ſecure, though the magiſtrates were devoted to Warwick, he continued his march towards that city, and was viſited by a deputation of the aldermen, who begged he would take another road, that they might not be reduced to the diſagreeable neceſſity of refuſing him admittance.

He now again renewed his former declaration; and expoſtulated with them, in a gentle manner, upon the cruelty of denying him admittance into a city, from which he derived his title, and upon which he had beſtowed ſo many favours; but he confided much more in the affection of the citizens,

than

than the power of his eloquence; and he was not diſappointed in his expectation. His friends raiſed an inſurrection in the city; and the magiſtrates, unable to reſiſt the torrent, went forth to offer him the keys of the city, and ſtipulate for the ſecurity of their lives and property.

Edward conſented to all their propoſals; and being received into York, alighted at the cathedral, where, by a ſolemn oath, he ratified his former proteſtations, that he would preſerve his loyalty and allegiance to Henry, and with regard to the recovery of his private eſtate, would leave it entirely to the deciſion of parliament.

Edward having thus made himſelf maſter of York, his friends repaired to his ſtandard from all quarters; till, at length, when he had collected a conſiderable body of troops, he left a ſtrong garriſon in the place, and directed his march towards London.

The news of Edward's landing and progreſs had no ſooner arrived at London, than commiſſions of array were iſſued to the duke of Clarence, and the earls of Warwick and Pembroke for levying forces to oppoſe the invader; and the marquis of Montacute, who had been lately conſtituted warden of the Scottiſh marches, was ordered to intercept him in his march to York, and at-

tack him before he ſhould be able to aſſemble an army.

Whether this nobleman had entered into any new agreement with Edward, or wavered in his reſolution between a weak prince already on the throne, and a powerful competitor, with whom he hoped one day to be united in the ſtricteſt alliance, by the completion of that marriage which had formerly been propoſed; certain it is, he continued quiet in his camp at Pontefract, and ſuffered Edward to paſs unmoleſted within four miles of his ſtation.

This prince had no ſooner reached Nottingham, than he was reinforced by Sir William Stanley, Sir William Parr, Sir Thomas Burgh, Sir William Norris, and many other gentlemen, with their vaſſals and dependants. Encouraged by theſe ſuccours, he openly avowed his claim to the crown; and his numbers were daily encreaſed, during his march towards London.

In the mean time, the earl of Warwick, having aſſembled a body of forces, proceeded to Leiceſter, in order to join his brother Montacute; and, hearing that Edward had taken the road to Coventry, he directed his march thither, with a view to give him battle.

When

When the two armies were in ſight of each other, Warwick received a letter from the duke of Clarence, acquainting him that he was advancing by long and haſty marches to join him, and begging that he would not venture an engagement with Edward, until he ſhould arrive with his forces.

In conſequence of this requeſt, Warwick changed his reſolution, and ſuffered his adverſary to continue his march to London, imagining that the citizens would hold out until he ſhould come to their aſſiſtance.

But, in this expectation, he was fatally diſappointed. Edward carried on a correſpondence with ſome of the principal inhabitants: the rich merchants, who had formerly lent ſums of money to Edward, had no other proſpect of payment, than that of his reſtoration: all the ladies were devoted to a prince of his gallantry and accompliſhments, and would neceſſarily influence their huſbands and relations in his favour: the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the earl of Eſſex, and ſome other prelates and noblemen, wiſhed well to his cauſe: and the ſanctuaries and franchiſes of London and Weſtminſter, contained above two thouſand of his adherents, including four hundred

knights and gentlemen, ready to take up arms in his behalf.

But, notwithſtanding theſe circumſtances, Edward's attempt upon London would probably have proved unſucceſsful, had not the archbiſhop of York, to whoſe care the perſon of Henry and the defence of the city were entruſted, betrayed the intereſt of his brother Warwick.

This prelate had lately made his peace with Edward, who, by his connivance, was received into the city, and ſeized king Henry in the palace of the biſhop of London. The archbiſhop was committed to cuſtody at the ſame time, in order to ſave appearances; but in two days he was ſet at liberty, and obtained a full pardon for all treaſons and miſdemeanours.

In the mean time, Warwick, being reinforced by his ſon-in-law Clarence and his brother Montacute, directed his march towards London: and, on the thirteenth day of April, encamped on a heath in the neighbourhood of Barnet, the town itſelf being occupied by the troops of Edward, who had come thither from London to give him battle, in conſequence of a promiſe he had received from Clarence, that he would deſert to him with all his forces.

In the night before the action, Richard, duke of Glouceſter, went without any ſafe-

guard

guard to the tent of Clarence, where the two brothers embraced with all the marks of the moſt ſincere friendſhip; and, after ſome private conference, they marched off towards Edward's camp, with about twelve thouſand followers.

Immediately after this ſhameful deſertion, Clarence ſent a meſſenger to Warwick, to make an apology for the ſtep he had taken, and acquaint him that he had obtained a promiſe from Edward that he would grant him a pardon upon his ſubmiſſion.

But the earl rejected the propoſal with contempt and indignation, either ſuſpecting the ſincerity of Edward, or thinking himſelf ſtill able to make head againſt him. It is more than probable that his brother Montacute had found means to convince him of his fidelity, and that he was firmly reſolved to ſtand by him to the laſt extremity; otherwiſe, it is natural to think, that he would have followed the example of Clarence.

Early in the morning of the fourteenth day of April, the battle began with incredible fury on both ſides. The troops of Warwick, though inferior to the enemy in number, fought with the moſt deſperate reſolution, conſcious, as they were, that they ſhould be puniſhed as rebels if taken alive;

alive; and the earl himſelf was determined to conquer or die on the ſpot.

Such was their impetuoſity, that Edward's firſt line was forced to give way; and ſome of his horſe riding full ſpeed to London, alarmed his friends with the news of his defeat. In this critical juncture, he commanded his body of reſerve to advance and attack the enemy in flank; and this attempt was the more ſucceſsful, as the earl of Oxford had driven the Yorkiſts to ſuch a diſtance, that Warwick's main body was left defenceleſs. Oxford, however, had no ſooner recollected this circumſtance, than he wheeled about in order to recover his former ſtation, and that movement occaſioned the loſs of the battle.

The device on his arms and enſigns was a ſtar ſhooting forth rays; and that of Edward was a ſun. The followers of Warwick obſerving a ſtar approaching through the medium of a thick fog, which then happened to cover the earth, miſtook it for Edward's ſtandard, and attacked their friends with ſuch fury, that they were routed and diſperſed before the earl of Oxford could convince them of their error.

Theſe laſt, finding themſelves attacked by their friends, ſuſpected they were betrayed, and fled towards the enemy with great precipitation: other parts of Warwick's

wick's army seeing them fly, imagined they had been charged in rear, and of consequence that they themselves were surrounded: they were instantly seized with terror and consternation; the panic spread from rank to rank; and universal disorder and confusion ensued.

Edward improving this favourable opportunity, renewed the charge with fresh vigour; and Warwick in vain exerted his utmost efforts in order to rally and encourage his dispirited forces. In former battles he had always fought on horseback, that he might observe the particulars of the action, and repair to the different parts of the field with the greater expedition; but on this occasion he sent off his horses, and resolved to fight on foot, that his men might see he was determined to share the fate of the meanest soldier in the army.

But this resolution, instead of being of any real service, contributed to his defeat, because he could not be personally present in every place where his direction and assistance were necessary, and because his men were no longer animated by the sight of their commander, under whose eye they believed themselves to be invincible.

At length, after having performed every thing that could be expected from the most consummate general and the most undaunted

ed hero, in fruitleſs attempts, he ruſhed into the thickeſt of the fight, and fell covered with wounds; and his bother Montacute, endeavouring to ſupport him, met with the ſame fate.

The death of the two generals put an end to all further oppoſition; and, about noon, Edward gained a complete victory over his enemies, five thouſand of whom were killed in the action; though the ſlaughter would not have been ſo great, had not the king diſcharged his ſoldiers from giving any quarter.

The earl of Oxford eſcaped into Wales, where the earl of Pembroke was employed in levying troops for the ſervice of Warwick; and the duke of Exeter was wounded, ſtripped, and left for dead on the field, where he lay till the evening, when he recovered from his trance, and made a ſhift to crawl to the houſe of one Rutland, where his wounds were cured; but he was afterafterwards ſeized and committed to the Tower.

Nor did Edward obtain a bloodleſs victory; for he loſt the lords Cromwell and Say, the eldeſt ſon of the lord Montjoy, Sir Humphrey Bouchier, ſon of the lord Berners, and about fifteen hundred men, who were ſlain in the action.

Such

Such was the end of Richard Neville, the famous earl of Warwick, who, in fortune, power, and influence, was the greateſt ſubject that ever appeared in England. He was certainly a nobleman of the moſt diſtinguiſhed abilities; and, had he been faithfully ſerved by thoſe in whom he confided, the family of York would not have triumphed over that of Lancaſter.

Immediately after the battle, Edward returned to London, and cauſed the naked bodies of Warwick and Montacute to be expoſed to public view in the cathedral of St. Paul, from whence they were conveyed to Biſham in Berkſhire, and buried in the priory founded by their anceſtors of the houſe of Montacute.

Edward imagined, that, by the death of the earl of Warwick, he had eſtabliſhed his throne on a ſolid foundation; but he ſoon found himſelf obliged to run the riſk of another battle. Margaret of Anjou, after a tedious and dangerous voyage, landed at Weymouth in Dorſetſhire, attended by the prince of Wales, and Edmund duke of Somerſet, with a ſmall body of French forces.

When ſhe was informed of the death of Warwick, and the captivity of her huſband, all her former courage and magnanimity ſeemed to forſake her; ſhe was overwhelmed

whemed with grief and deſpair; ſhe even fell into a ſwoon, from which ſhe was recovered with great difficulty; and, at laſt, ſhe took ſanctuary with her ſon in the abbey of Beaulieu in Hampſhire.

Her ſpirits, however, were ſoon recruited, when ſhe ſaw herſelf joined by John Courtenay, earl of Devon, the viſcount Beaumont, the lord Wenlock, Sir Hugh Courtenay, Sir John Beaufort, Sir Thomas Fulford, Sir John Forteſcue, Sir Thomas Treſham, Sir Gervaſe Cliſton, Sir Thomas Seymour, and many other gentlemen with their vaſſals and dependents.

Encouraged by theſe reinforcements, ſhe immediately took the field, and paſſing through the counties of Devon and Somerſet, her troops were daily increaſed, until they amounted to a very conſiderable army: at laſt ſhe arrived at Tewkſbury in Glouceſterſhire, from whence ſhe intended to proceed into Wales, and join the earl of Pembroke.

But the execution of this ſcheme was prevented by the vigilance and activity of Edward, who after having proſcribed her and all her adherents by proclamation, immediately ſet out for the Banks of the Severne, in order to attack her before ſhe ſhould be reinforced by the earl of Pembroke.

As

As ſhe had been refuſed admittance into Glouceſter, where ſhe intended to paſs the river, ſhe had advanced to Tewkeſbury with the ſame deſign; but Edward purſued her ſo cloſely, that ſhe could not croſs the Severne without expoſing her rear to certain ruin: it was therefore determined in a council of war, that her forces ſhould be intrenched in a park adjoining to the town, and continue in that poſition till the arrival of Pembroke. This ſcheme they immediately began to put in execution; and Edward coming up, determined to attack them in their intrenchments, before their camp ſhould be rendered impregnable.

With this view, he marſhalled his army in two lines, one of which was conducted by his brother the duke of Glouceſter, while he and Clarence commanded the other.

The duke of Somerſet arranged the queen's army in three lines within the intrenchments; and he himſelf took his ſtation in the van, that he might withſtand the firſt aſſault of the enemy. The ſecond line was conducted by the lord Wenlock, under the prince of Wales, who was conſidered as the commander in chief; and the rear was headed by the duke of Devonſhire.

Edward, perceiving that Somerſet had left ſome openings in the front, through

which he intended, if a favourable opportunity ſhould offer, to ſally forth upon the aſſailants; and being no ſtranger to the impetuous courage and fiery diſpoſition of that nobleman, ordered his brother Glouceſter, who began the attack, to draw Somerſet from his intrenchments, by giving way and retreating with precipitation, until he ſhould obſerve the duke and his men in the open plain, and then to wheel about and return to the charge; in which caſe he might depend upon being properly ſupported.

Glouceſter being thus tutored, attacked the intrenchments with great impetuoſity, and meeting with a very warm reception, began to retreat in ſuch hurry and confuſion, that the duke of Somerſet, imagining they fled, ſallied out in purſuit of the fugitives, after having ſent an order to Wenlock to follow, and ſupport him in caſe of neceſſity.

The duke of Glouceſter having thus decoyed the enemy into the open plain, purſued the inſtructions he had received, with equal punctuality and ſucceſs. He inſtantly ordered his troops to halt, and recover their former ranks; and this they had no ſooner done, than he led them back to the charge, to the terror and amazement of the Lancaſtrians, who, confounded at this unexpected event, were ſo far from ſtanding the aſ-

ſault,

ſault, that they fled to their intrenchments with great precipitation.

The duke of Somerſet, obſerving that the lord Wenlock had not advanced a ſtep to ſuſtain the firſt line, was ſo enraged that he rode up and cleft his head with a battle-axe; and the duke of Glouceſter, entering the intrenchments with the enemy, committed a moſt terrible carnage.

The young prince of Wales, ſeeing his whole army thrown into the utmoſt diſorder and confuſion, did not know what courſe to purſue; and the duke of Somerſet's paſſion was ſwelled to ſuch a pitch of fury and madneſs, that he was altogether incapable of taking the neceſſary meaſures for reducing his troops to order.

By this time king Edward had entered the intrenchments with the ſecond line, and decided the fate of the battle: the firſt diviſion of the queen's army was defeated with great ſlaughter; and the ſecond and third lines betook themſelves to flight, without ſo much as ſtriking a blow.

The earl of Devonſhire, and Sir John Beaufort, were found among the dead, which amounted to three thouſand; the duke of Somerſet, the great prior of St. John, and about twenty other gentlemen, took refuge in the abbey-church, hoping they would be ſafe in that ſanctuary; from which, how-

ever, they were immediately dragged forth to execution.

The prince of Wales being taken priſoner, was brought into the preſence of Edward, who, with a haughty and ſupercilious air, aſked him how he durſt preſume to invade his dominions? The young prince, more mindful of his high birth than of his preſent fortune, replied, that he had come to recover his father's crown and his own inheritance, which Edward had uſurped.

This anſwer, which, from a perſon of mature judgment, would have been extremely imprudent, if not impertinent, might have been eaſily excuſed, on account of the tender years of the author; but Edward, regardleſs of this circumſtance, was incenſed to ſuch a degree that he ſtruck the prince on the face with his gauntlet; and this ſeems to have been a preconcerted ſignal to the dukes of Clarence and Glouceſter, the lord Haſtings, and Thomas Grey, the ſon of queen Elizabeth, who inſtantly fell upon him like ſo many wild beaſts, and hewed him in pieces with their daggers.

His mother Margaret of Anjou, being found on the field of battle in a waggon, where ſhe lay more dead than alive, was committed to cuſtody in the Tower, where ſhe continued about four years, until the king

king of France thought proper to ranſom her for the ſum of fifty thouſand crowns.

In the ſame place of confinement expired king Henry a few days after the battle of Tewkeſbury; but, whether of a natural or violent death, is extremely uncertain.

It was ſuppoſed, and indeed was generally believed, that the duke of Glouceſter ſlew him with his own hands; but perhaps the wicked character of this prince induced the people to load his memory with this crime without any ſufficient authority.

Certain it is, however, that his death was very ſudden; and, though he laboured under a bad ſtate of health, this circumſtance, joined to the barbarous manners of the age, afforded a very natural ground of ſuſpicion, which was rather increaſed than diminiſhed by expoſing his body to public view. This expedient ſerved no other purpoſe, than to make people recal the memory of many ſimilar inſtances in the Engliſh hiſtory, and to draw a very unfavourable concluſion.

The battle of Tewkeſbury, and the conſequent events, ſeemed entirely to have extinguiſhed the hopes of the houſe of Lancaſter: all the legitimate princes of that family were now dead: moſt of the great leaders of the party had either fallen in the field, or periſhed on the ſcaffold. Jaſper earl of Pembroke, who was raiſing forces

in Wales, had no ſooner received the news of this diſaſter, than he diſbanded his troops, and fled into Brittany, with his nephew the earl of Richmond.

The Baſtard of Falconbridge, who had aſſembled ſome troops, and advanced to London, during the abſence of Edward, was repulſed at Aldgate by the bravery of alderman Baſſet: his men abandoned his ſtandard; he was taken priſoner, and immediately beheaded: and the public tranquillity being now re-eſtabliſhed, a parliament was convoked, which ratified, as uſual, all the acts of the conqueror, and recognized his legal authority.

But this prince, notwithſtanding his vigour and activity in adverſe circumſtances, was altogether unable to reſiſt the allurements of a proſperous fortune; and now that he was ſole maſter of the kingdom without a rival to diſpute his title, he reſigned himſelf, as formerly, to the gratification of his ſenſual appetites.*

Nevertheleſs, by this gay and licentious courſe of life, and by his eaſy and polite manners, he regained that popularity, which, it is natural to think, he had loſt by the many acts of rigour and ſeverity which he had exerciſed upon his enemies; and as the example

* A. D. 1472.

example of the prince is commonly imitated by thoſe in inferior ſtations, the whole body of the people indulged in the pleaſures of feſtivity and good cheer, and, by that means, forgot, in ſome meaſure, their former feuds and animoſities.

All men ſeemed to be well pleaſed with the preſent government; and the memory of their paſt calamities ſerved only to make them more ſenſible of their preſent happineſs, and to inſpire them with the ſtronger reſolution of guarding againſt thoſe ſcenes of civil diſcord and diſſenſion, which had hitherto been productive of ſuch fatal effects.

But, from this lethargy of pleaſure and delight, the king was ſoon arouzed by the proſpect of foreign conqueſts, which, it is more than probable, his love of popularity, rather than his ſpirit of ambition, had induced him to entertain.

Notwithſtanding the cold reception which the duke of Burgundy had given him during his exile, the political intereſts of the two nations were ſo cloſely connected, that he was ſtill obliged to maintain a friendly correſpondence with that prince, in conjunction with whom he now reſolved to invade France with a powerful army.*

In

* A. D. 1473.

In proſecution of this ſcheme, the two princes concluded a formal treaty, by which Edward engaged to croſs the ſeas with a body of ten thouſand men: Charles promiſed to join him with all his forces: the king was to advance his claim to the crown of France, and recover, at leaſt, the provinces of Normandy and Guienne: the duke was to obtain Champagne, and ſome other territories, and to deliver his dominions from their ſubjection to the crown of France: and neither party was to agree to a peace, without the conſent of the other.

They had the greater reaſon to hope that this ſcheme would prove ſucceſsful, as the count de St. Pol, conſtable of France, who was maſter of St. Quintin and ſome towns on the Somme, had ſecretly engaged to favour their attempt; and they likewiſe imagined they ſhould be able to perſuade the duke of Brittany to embark in the ſame enterprize.

Whatever reluctance the parliament might diſcover in granting ſupplies to the government on other occaſions, they never failed to contribute the neceſſary ſubſidies on the proſpect of a French war.

They now voted the king a tenth of rents, or two ſhillings in the pound, which muſt have been very careleſsly collected, ſince

ſince it only amounted to thirty-one thouſand four hundred and ſixty pounds; and they added to this ſupply a whole fifteenth, and three quarters of another; but, as the king thought theſe ſums ſtill inſufficient for his purpoſe, he endeavoured to raiſe money by way of benevolence; a kind of tax, which, except during the reign of Henry III. had hardly ever been impoſed in former times, and which, though it was pretended to be levied by the conſent of the parties, could not be conſidered as altogether voluntary.*

This appears, in ſome meaſure, from the clauſes annexed to the parliamentary grant. The money ariſing from the fifteenth, was not to be entruſted to the care of the king, but to be depoſited in certain religious houſes; and, if the expedition to France ſhould not be undertaken, it was to be refunded to the people.

The king having obtained theſe grants, diſſolved the parliament, which had ſat near three years, and had undergone ſeveral prorogations; a practice not very common at that time in England.

In the beginning of the year,† Edward went over to Calais, with an army of fifteen

* A. D. 1474. † A. D. 1475.

teen hundred lances, and as many thousand archers, accompanied by all the principal nobility of England, who, mindful of the great conquests which their ancestors had made in the French dominions, flattered themselves with the prospect of the same good fortune.

But all their sanguine hopes were blasted, when they found that the constable did not receive them with that cordiality and friendship which they had been made to expect, and that the duke of Burgundy did not bring them the least assistance.

That prince, transported by the violence of his temper, had carried his armies to a great distance, and employed them in wars on the frontiers of Germany, and against the duke of Lorrain; and though he waited upon Edward in person, and endeavoured to excuse this breach of treaty, there was little probability that they would be able, during this campaign, to act in conjunction with the English forces. Edward, vexed at this disappointment, was the more inclined to listen to those propofals of peace, which Lewis was willing to make him.

That monarch, more influenced by political considerations than by the vain punctilios of honour, thought no submissions too mean, which could deliver him from enemies who had proved so formidable to

his

his predeceſſors, and who, now aſſiſted by ſuch powerful allies, might again involve his kingdom in freſh calamities.

When Edward ſent a herald to demand the crown of France, and to give a defiance to Lewis in caſe of refuſal, he was ſo far from treating this bravado with that contempt and indignation which a prince of leſs prudence would have diſcovered, that he replied in a very mild and gentle manner, and even made the herald a handſome preſent.

He, ſoon after, took an occaſion to ſend a herald to the Engliſh camp, and gave him directions to apply to the lords Stanley and Howard, who, he was informed, were inclined to a peace, and whoſe good offices he earneſtly ſolicited towards effecting an accommodation.

As Edward himſelf was no leſs favourably diſpoſed, a treaty was concluded on the following terms: that Lewis ſhould pay ſeventy-five thouſand crowns to indemnify Edward for the expence of the expedition; on receipt of which the king of England ſhould immediately retire with his forces: that Lewis ſhould likewiſe grant him an annuity of fifty thouſand crowns: that the dauphin of France ſhould eſpouſe Elizabeth, daughter of Edward, and ſettle ſixty thouſand livres a year upon her as a jointure:

jointure: and that neither party ſhould encourage civil wars in the other's kingdom; but that both ſhould aſſiſt each other in ſuppreſſing the inſurrection of their ſubjects.

In order to ratify this treaty, the two monarchs agreed to have a perſonal interview on the bridge of Pequigny with a barrier between them. The French king was attended by the cardinal of Bourbon, and five other noblemen, and Edward was accompanied by ſome of the Engliſh nobility.

After they had confirmed the treaty by oath, Lewis invited Edward to Paris, where, he ſaid, the ladies would be extremely fond of his company, and ſhould he be tempted to commit any piccadillo, he ſhould have for his confeſſor the cardinal of Bourbon, who, from fellow-feeling, would not be very ſevere in point of penance.

The two kings rallied one another with much humour and pleaſantry, until Lewis made a ſignal for his attendants to retire: the Engliſh likewiſe withdrew on their ſide; and their maſters had a private conference, which laſted for a conſiderable time.

Their converſation chiefly turned upon the dukes of Burgundy, Bretagne, and the conſtable. Lewis aſking the king of England's opinion of theſe three allies, Edward told him, that if the duke of Burgundy and the

the conſtable ſhould refuſe to take the benefit of the treaty, the king of France might treat them in whatever manner he ſhould chuſe; but that ſhould the duke of Brittany be attacked, he would aſſiſt him with all his power.

The regard which Edward expreſſed for that prince, was owing to his having in his hands the ſole remaining branch of the houſe of Lancaſter, by whoſe means he could, at any time, have excited commotions in England; and therefore Edward thought proper to cultivate the duke's friendſhip. Lewis did not preſs him any further on the ſubject; and the two kings parted with many profeſſions of mutual eſteem and affection.

The French king repaired to Amiens, attended by the lord Howard, who was left as an hoſtage for Edward's performance of articles; and while the king was waſhing his hands before ſupper, this nobleman whiſpered in his ear, that Edward might eaſily be perſuaded to take a journey to Paris.

Lewis made no anſwer to this hint, until it was repeated; and then he ſaid, that the war which he was carrying on with the duke of Burgundy, would not allow him to go to Paris; and therefore he was ſorry he could not have the honour of receiving the viſit of the Eng-

liſh monarch. "Edward," ſaid he privately to Comines, "is a very handſome and amo-"rous prince: ſome lady at Paris may be "as fond of him as he ſhall be of her; "and may invite him to return in another "manner."

In effect, he dreaded nothing ſo much as Edward's taking a liking to France, and wiſhed, above all things, that he would return to his own kingdom. He was ſo much afraid of his breaking his engagements, that he beſtowed conſiderable penſions upon the principal members of Edward's council, that they might exert their endeavours in perſuading their maſter to adhere to the treaty.

He even condeſcended to court the friendſhip of the common ſoldiers. As the Engliſh army approached Amiens, he cauſed the gates to be thrown open, and all the inn-keepers of the place to treat the men at his expence; and he even ſent three hundred waggon loads of wine to Edward's camp, as a preſent to the army.

All this liberality, however, was merely the effect of fear, from which he was, at length, delivered by the departure of the Engliſh, who returned to their own country, extremely well pleaſed with the reliſh of the French wine, and the goodneſs of the French money.

The

The moſt honourable part of Lewis's treaty with Edward, was the ſtipulation for the liberty of queen Margaret, who, though after the death of her ſon and huſband, ſhe was no longer in a condition to give any diſturbance to the government, had hitherto been detained a priſoner in the Tower of London.

Lewis paid fifty thouſand crowns for her ranſom; and that princeſs, who, by her ambition and arbitrary temper, had ſo long involved the people of England in civil diſdiſcord and diſſenſion, and occaſioned the utter ruin of her own family, paſſed the reſt of her days in privacy and retirement.

Though Edward had ſo little reaſon to be pleaſed with the conduct of the duke of Burgundy, he ſtill gave that prince a power of acceding to the treaty of Amiens; but Charles, when the offer was made him, replied, with great haughtineſs, that he was able to defend himſelf, without the aſſiſtance of England; and that, as a proof of his aſſertion, he would agree to no terms of accommodation with Lewis, till three months after Edward's return to his own country.

This prince poſſeſſed the ambition, as well as the courage and intrepidity, of a conqueror; but, being deſtitute of policy

and prudence, qualities no leſs neceſſary, he was unſucceſsful in all his enterprizes; and periſhed, at laſt, in a battle againſt the Swiſs, in the forty-ſixth year of his age, leaving behind him an only daughter, Mary, who, as ſhe was heireſs of his rich and extenſive dominions, was eagerly courted by all the potentates of Europe.*

Lewis, the head of her family, might, by a proper application, have procured this match for the dauphin, and by that means have added to the crown of France all the provinces of the Low Countries, together with Burgundy, Artois, and Picardy.

But he had conceived ſuch a violent and implacable hatred againſt the houſe of Burgundy, that he choſe rather to reduce the princeſs by force of arms, than unite her to his family by the ties of conſanguinity: he made himſelf maſter of the dutchy of Burgundy, and of that part of Picardy which had been yielded to Philip the Good, by the treaty of Arras: but the ſtates of the Netherlands were ſo incenſed at his baſe and ungenerous proceedings, that they beſtowed their ſovereign in marriage on Maximilian of Auſtria, ſon of the emperor Frederic, from whom they hoped for relief in their preſent diſtreſſes; and thus France was

* A. D. 1477.

was deprived of the opportunity, which ſhe could never after regain, of enlarging her dominions by the addition of theſe fertile and beautiful provinces.

The king of England, being now freed from all fears of foreign invaſions, or domeſtic diſturbances, applied himſelf to the adminiſtration of juſtice, and made a progreſs through his dominions, to clear the roads of robbers and banditti, with which they had been greatly infeſted during the late commotions.

He exerted himſelf, on this occaſion, with equal vigour and impartiality, inflicting the moſt ſevere puniſhments upon the offenders, and even ſacrificing his own ſervants to the good of the public, whenever they were found guilty of any miſdemeanour.

This meaſure was abſolutely neceſſary to allay the clamours of the people, who had begun to complain bitterly of the great expence and ſhameful miſcarriage of the late expedition; and Edward was ſo alarmed at their murmurs, that he was afraid to aſk any further ſupplies from parliament.

He was therefore obliged to deviſe another method for recruiting his finances: he engaged in commerce, which he carried on to a great extent, as a private merchant: he ſold the profits of vacant prelacies: he demanded fines for the reſtitution of tem

poralities: he ranſacked the offices of record to find out defective titles, and obliged the proprietors, by illegal proſecutions, to pay large ſums for their confirmation; and he impoſed the moſt unjuſt and exorbitant exactions upon the clergy.

In a word, he employed ſo many arts to fill his coffers, and purſued his purpoſe with ſuch unwearied diligence and application, that he was univerſally accuſed of avarice and extortion; though he ſtill continued to devote a conſiderable part of his time to the indulgence of his pleaſures.

The management of public affairs was entirely engroſſed by the queen and her relations, who were now become extremely unpopular, as well on account of their unbounded ambition and inſolent behaviour, as of the conſtant oppoſition they gave to all the ſchemes of the king's brothers.*

Richard duke of Glouceſter, who was naturally cloſe, reſerved, and ſilent, concealed his anger in ſuch a manner, as prevented an open rupture between him and the miniſtry; but George duke of Clarence, who was warm, proud, ambitious, and headſtrong, could not ſmother his reſentment, which broke out on all occaſions with equal vehemence and indecency.

While

* A. D. 1478.

While Edward lived in celibacy, he had entertained the agreeable hopes of ſucceeding to the crown of England; and was ſo highly chagrined at his marriage, that he had never loved his brother heartily ſince that period: he hated the queen for the ſame reaſon, and his rancour was directed againſt all her relations.

This animoſity was further inflamed by their ſeizing into their own hands all places of profit and honour, and thwarting him in all the meaſures he concerted for his own advantage. By an act of reſumption, which had lately paſſed, they had ſtripped him of the eſtate of Tutbury, and many other lands, which he had formerly received from the liberality of his brother.

His dutcheſs dying a little before the death of Charles duke of Burgundy, he entreated his ſiſter Margaret, the widow of that prince, to uſe her intereſt in procuring a match between him and her ſtep-daughter, the princeſs Mary.

This alliance would have contributed greatly to the intereſt of England; and the dutcheſs dowager, who loved Clarence above all her brothers, eſpouſed his cauſe with ſo much zeal, that the ſcheme would probably have proved ſucceſsful, had it not been induſtriouſly defeated by the intrigues of Edward, who was either jealous of his brother's

brother's acquiring ſuch an unlimited power, or was biaſſed by the queen, who wanted to ſecure this match for her brother Anthony Wideville, earl of Rivers.

This cruel and ungenerous treatment could not fail to exaſperate the mind of Clarence, who inveighed againſt the king with great acrimony; and his diſcontent was greatly increaſed by the artful inſinuations of Richard duke of Glouceſter. This prince had already reſolved to ſeize the crown; a ſcheme which he could not carry into execution, while Clarence ſtood between him and the ſucceſſion: he therefore determined to accompliſh his ruin, as the only means of paving his way to that uſurpation, which, he knew, the infant children of Edward would be unable to prevent.

With this view he artfully inflamed the hatred of Clarence againſt the king, until he broke forth into ſome raſh threats and imprecations; and theſe he afterwards reported with exaggerations to Edward, on pretence of putting him on his guard againſt the treaſonable attempts of the other.

The queen and her relations, who deteſted Clarence, confirmed the ſuggeſtions of Glouceſter; ſo that Edward began to ſuſpect his brother George as a traitor, who had

had formed a deſign upon his life and royalty.

This ſuſpicion occaſioned a coldneſs and reſerve towards Clarence, who was more and more enraged at the king's neglect and ſullen demeanour. He now complained of the meaſures of the court with greater vehemence than ever; and the miniſtry determined to embrace the firſt opportunity of effecting his ruin.

In order to provoke him to ſome act of folly, that might afford them a preetext for obtaining their purpoſe, they attacked him in his friends and adherents, againſt whom they preferred ridiculous accuſations. John Stacy, a learned clergyman, and ſkilful aſtronomer, was accuſed of the exerciſe of necromancy; and Thomas Burdet, of Arrow in Warwickſhire, was ſeized as his accomplice, as well as becauſe he had curſed the king for killing a favourite white hind in his incloſures. They were tried for theſe crimes in the king's bench at Weſtminſter; and, being convicted, were executed at Tyburn; where they aſſerted their innocence with great fortitude and conſtancy.

Clarence, provoked at this licenſed murder of his friends, went next day to the council-chamber at Weſtminſter, and delivered to the ſitting lords the private confeſſion

feſſion and public declaration of theſe unhappy ſufferers.

Edward was ſo enraged at his preſumption, that, in the violence of his paſſion, he rode full ſpeed from Windſor to Weſtminſter, and cited Clarence to appear before the council. He there reprimanded the duke for his inſolence, in daring to arraign the juſtice of the courts of law; he ſaid his behaviour diſcovered a deſign to frighten the judges and juries of the realm, and contained an inſult on the royal authority: he recapitulated all the malicious ſtories which his enemies had contrived againſt him; upbraided him as a baſe and ungrateful traitor; and ſigned a warrant for committing him to the Tower.

A parliament being aſſembled at Weſtminſter, Henry duke of Buckingham was conſtituted high ſteward of England, to preſide at the trial of Clarence, whoſe accuſation was digeſted into eight articles, implying, that, by his ſeditious diſcourſe, he had endeavoured to alienate the affections of the people from the perſon of their ſovereign, by accuſing his majeſty of having put Burdet unjuſtly to death: that he had ſuborned his domeſtics, and others, to circulate this falſe report: that he had charged the king with the crime of necromancy, and with having poiſoned ſome innocent perſons,

perſons, whoſe lives could not be affected by any judicial proceſs: that he aſſerted, the king was not the ſon of the late duke of York, but a baſtard, begotten by another man, whom the dutcheſs admitted privately to her bed: that, from this circumſtance, Clarence, pretending a right to the crown, had plainly diſcovered his intention to ſeize it with the firſt opportunity, by exacting an oath from ſeveral perſons to aid and aſſiſt him againſt all mankind, not even excepting his ſovereign: that he had accuſed the king of uſing witchcraft, to deprive him of his life: and that he had plainly betrayed a deſign to dethrone the king, by procuring an authentic copy of the act of parliament paſſed during the uſurpation of Warwick, by which the crown was ſettled upon Clarence, after the death of Henry VI. and in default of the male iſſue of his body.

The duke denied every part of the charge, and offered to maintain his innocence in ſingle combat; but as Edward himſelf was his accuſer, and proteſted that he was fully convinced of his guilt, no evidence was examined, and no member ventured to ſpeak in behalf of the unhappy prince, who was therefore convicted of high treaſon, and condemned to ſuffer the puniſhment due to that crime.

The

The ſentence was not immediately carried into execution; and, in all probability, his life would have been ſaved, had not the king's reſentment been kept alive by the wicked inſinuations of the queen and Glouceſter; and his fears alarmed by a ridiculous prophecy, importing, that the name of his ſucceſſor ſhould begin with a G. which was ſuppoſed to be George duke of Clarence.

The miniſtry, however, was afraid to execute the ſentence, without ſome further pretence; in order to obtain which, they engaged one Roger Twynho to preſent a petition to the houſe of commons againſt the duke of Clarence, for having bribed a jury to give a falſe verdict againſt his kinſwoman Ankeret, late wife of William Twynho, eſquire, whom he accuſed of having poiſoned his dutcheſs; in conſequence of which verdict, the ſaid Ankaret had been put to an ignominious death.

The parliament having conſidered the merits of this petition, annulled the proceſs, as having been unjuſtly obtained by the intereſt of the duke of Clarence; and deſired that the ſentence againſt that prince might be carried into immediate execution. Even then they durſt not venture to put him to death in a public manner; but he was immediately diſpatched in the Tower, having, accord-

according to ſome hiſtorians, been drowned in a butt of Malmſey.

Such was the fate of George duke of Clarence, a prince, who, conſidering the manners of the age, was certainly more weak than wicked, and who was infinitely more virtuous than any of thoſe who had plotted and accompliſhed his ruin: he left behind him one ſon named Edward earl of Warwick, and a daughter, who was afterwards counteſs of Saliſbury.

The duke's death occaſioned ſuch a clamour among the populace, that the miniſtry were obliged to conceal the manner of his execution, and pretend that he died ſuddenly of ſorrow and vexation: and, as a proof that no violence had been offered to his perſon, his body was expoſed in the cathedral of St. Paul; but this trick was ſo ſtale that it ſerved only to ſtrenghthen the ſuſpicions of the people, who did not ſcruple to inveigh with great virulence againſt the cruelty of the adminiſtration.

This was the laſt capital act of Edward's reign, the whole courſe of which had been one continued ſcene of blood, violence, and barbarity. His ſpirit ſeems afterwards to have been wholly immerſed in the indulgence of ſenſual pleaſure, or his ſchemes were defeated by his imprudence and want of circumſpection.

There was nothing which he had more at heart than to have his daughters ſettled by ſplendid marriages, though moſt of theſe princeſſes were yet in their infancy, and though it was evident that the attainment of his views muſt depend upon a thouſand accidents, which no human prudence could foreſee, and which no human power could prevent.

His eldeſt daughter Elizabeth was affianced to the dauphin; his ſecond, Cicely, to the eldeſt ſon of James III. king of Scotland; his third, Anne, to Philip, the eldeſt ſon of Maximilian, and the dutcheſs of Burgundy; and his fourth, Catharine, to John, ſon and heir to Ferdinand, king of Arragon, and Iſabella, queen of Caſtile. But none of theſe matches ever took effect; and the king, in his life-time, had the mortification to ſee the failure of the firſt, viz. that with the dauphin, for which he had always ſhewn a peculiar fondneſs. Lewis, who was little ſcrupulous in obſerving treaties or engagements, found his account in contracting the dauphin to the princeſs Margaret, daughter of Maximilian; and Edward, lazy and indolent as he naturally was, reſolved to be revenged on him for this indignity.*

The

* A. D. 1482.

The French monarch, whoſe prudence was equal to his falſhood, endeavoured to avert the impending danger; and by a proper diſtribution of preſents in the court of Scotland, he excited James to make war upon England.

This weak prince, who was at variance with his nobility, and whoſe force was very unequal to ſuch an enterprize, aſſembled an army; but when he was preparing to enter England, the barons conſpired againſt his favourites, and put them to death without trial; in conſequence of which the troops immediately diſperſed.

The duke of Glouceſter, accompanied by the duke of Albany, James's brother, invaded Scotland with a powerful army, reduced Berwick, and compelled the Scots to agree to an accommodation, by which they yielded that fortreſs to Edward. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, the king reſolved, in good earneſt, to undertake a war againſt Lewis; but, while he was making preparations for that purpoſe, he was ſeized with a violent fever, of which he died in the forty-ſecond year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign.*

He was a prince of the moſt elegant perſon, and inſinuating addreſs: his courage was greater than his prudence, and his

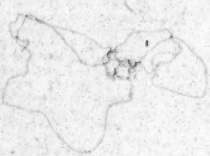
* A. D. 1483.

good fortune was greater than both: in times of prosperity, he devoted himself entirely to the gratification of his sensual appetites: in adverse circumstances, no man was capable of exerting greater spirit, vigour, and activity: in nine battles, where he fought in person, he was victorious in all: but, as he was of a cruel and vindictive temper, the laurels which he gained in the field, were stained and disgraced by the streams of noble blood which he shed upon the scaffold.*

* By his wife Elizabeth he had three sons and seven daughters; viz. Edward, who succeeded him on the throne; Richard duke of York; George who died in his infancy: Elizabeth, afterwards married to Henry VII. king of England; Mary, affianced to the king of Denmark, who died before marriage; Cicely, first matched with John viscount Willes, and afterwards with Sir John Kyme; Margaret, who died an infant; Anne, married to Thomas Howard, the third duke of Norfolk of that name; Bridget, who took the veil, and died in the nunnery at Dartford; and Catharine, who espoused William Courtenay, earl of Devonshire.

His natural children were Arthur Plantagenet, viscount Lisle, born of Elizabeth Lucy; and Elizabeth Plantagenet, married to Thomas lord Lumley; another Elizabeth, by Catharine daughter of Sir Robert Clavenger; and Isabel Mylbery, married to a brother of the lord Audeley. *Rymer, Dugdale, M.SS. Anstis,* &c.

EDWARD



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EDWARD V.

Engrav'd for Rider's History of England

EDWARD V. A.D. 1483.

THE fourth Edward had no ſooner reſigned his breath, than his ſon was proclaimed king of England, by the name of Edward V. though that young prince, who was only in the thirteenth year of his age, never obtained the crown, nor performed any act of ſovereign authority; ſo that the interval between the death of his father, and the uſurpation of his uncle, ought properly to be conſidered as an interregnum, during which the duke of Glouceſter contrived and executed the means of depriving his nephew of the crown.

Young Edward kept his court at Ludlow-caſtle in Shropſhire, under the tuition of his uncle Anthony Wideville, earl of Rivers, who had been appointed his governor: his uterine brother, Sir Richard Grey, poſſeſſed another great office about his perſon; Sir Thomas Vaughan was his chamberlain; and all the other poſts of his houſhold, were filled with the queen's creatures. Notwithſtanding the great influence which ſhe had obtained over the late king, ſhe could never

perſuade him to diſcard from his council ſome old officers and ſervants, who had always ſerved him with unſhaken loyalty and attachment.

Theſe were no ſtrangers to the various arts ſhe employed, in order to effect their ruin; and, conſcious that their ſafety could only be enſured by their union, they formed a party for their mutual defence and ſupport, as well as to traverſe the meaſures of Elizabeth and her family. The principal members of this party, were Henry Stafford duke of Buckingham, William lord Haſtings, and Thomas lord Stanley.

The firſt was ſprung from a daughter of Thomas of Wodeſtoke duke of Glouceſter, and ſon of Edward III. and enjoyed the office of high-conſtable: the lord Haſtings was high-chamberlain, and poſſeſſed a large ſhare of the late king's confidence, on account of the many eminent ſervices he had done him amidſt all the viciſſitudes of his fortune; and the lord Stanley was the repreſentative of an ancient family, a nobleman of great courage and intrepidity, and zealouſly attached to the intereſt of his maſter.

Theſe three were regarded as the heads of the ancient nobility in contradiſtinction to the new nobles who had been raiſed to that high rank by the influence and recommendation of the queen; and though their credit

credit in the council was greatly inferior to that of the Widevilles and Greys, they were yet poſſeſſed of ſo much power and intereſt in the country, that they could eaſily give diſturbance to the adminiſtration of a young prince, who was only aſcending the throne, and who himſelf was incapable of holding the reins of government.

The duke of Gloucester would have been greatly puzzled between theſe two parties, had not he poſſeſſed an uncommon ſhare of ſagacity and diſſimulation; for, in order to preſerve the friendſhip of his brother, he was obliged to make his court to the queen; and, by treating her in a reſpectful manner, he ran the riſk of offending the old nobility, without whoſe aſſiſtance he could not hope to accompliſh his deſigns: he therefore behaved to the queen with all the exterior marks of the moſt profound reſpect; and, at the ſame time, entered into a private engagement with the duke of Buckingham and his party.

Richard had been able, during his lifetime, to moderate the animoſity of the two rival factions; but he plainly perceived, that, after his death, they would come to an open rupture. In order, if poſſible, to prevent this fatal event, he had ſtrongly recommended unanimity and concord to the

two

two parties; he had even propoſed a reconciliation, to which they readily agreed; and the ceremony was performed in his preſence.

The queen undertook for her brother Rivers, who was abſent; and her eldeſt ſon, the marquis of Dorſet, embraced the duke of Buckingham and lord Haſtings, with all the appearance of the moſt cordial affection.

The duke of Glouceſter, who was then at York on his Majeſty's affairs, could not obſtruct this accommodation, which would have entirely ruined his ſcheme, had the parties been ſincere in their profeſſions. But, unhappily for themſelves and the good of the public, this was far from being the caſe.

Edward had no ſooner expired, than they forgot their mutual engagements; and each faction endeavoured to gain the aſcendant over the other, by ſecuring the perſon of the young king, whoſe name might ſerve to authorize all their proceedings.

The queen, upon the death of her huſband, ſent a meſſenger to her brother the earl of Rivers, with the news of that event, and a letter, in which ſhe deſired him to aſſemble a body of troops in Wales, and conduct the young king to London, that the ceremony of his coronation might be immediately performed.

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On the other hand, the duke of Buckingham and the lord Haſtings informed the duke of Glouceſter of his brother's death, and the queen's meaſures; and, as the protectorſhip of the realm appertained, of right, to him, during the king's minority, they adviſed him to maintain his privilege, and promiſed to raiſe a body of a thouſand men, which ſhould be ready to obey him in all his commands.

Richard ordered them to meet him at Northampton, whither they accordingly repaired, with a great number of their vaſſals; and there, in a long and laboured harangue, he repreſented the danger to which they would be expoſed, ſhould the queen continue to manage the reins of government.

He ſaid, that it was both his right, and his intereſt, to aſſume the adminiſtration of public affairs, during the minority of his nephew; that every body was perfectly acquainted with the inviolable attachment which he had ever preſerved to his brother; that his tender affection for Edward's children, would not permit him to entruſt them to the care of thoſe, whoſe only aim was to aggrandize themſelves at the expence of their ſovereign; for which reaſon he was determined to employ his beſt endeavours for the good of the nation, and the honour

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of the young king, on whom he would beſtow ſuch an education as would render him able to tread in the ſteps of his glorious anceſtors: but, that as ſuch a deſign could not be accompliſhed without the aſſiſtance of all honeſt men, he had called them together, in order to concert the meaſures which ought to be purſued in the preſent emergency; and he finally declared, that he would be wholly directed by their advice.

This ſpeech being well received, they preſently began to conſult about the means of making themſelves maſters of the king's perſon; and, as it would be difficult to ſucceed by force, they reſolved to have recourſe to artifice and deceit.

They agreed to preſerve a great appearance of zeal for the intereſt of their new ſovereign, that the queen might have no pretext for levying or maintaining an army; that the duke of Glouceſter ſhould adviſe her to diſband the troops ſhe had already raiſed; and, ſhould his arguments ſucceed, endeavour to ſeize the king's perſon, before his arrival in London. But ſhould the queen refuſe to follow his advice, he reſolved to amuſe her with negociations, until he ſhould be able to carry his point in a more effectual manner.

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This ſcheme being formed, Haſtings returned to London, where he was extremely popular; and the duke of Glouceſter wrote a letter of condolence to the queen, in which, after the warmeſt profeſſions of eſteem, regard, and attachment to her and his young ſovereign, he adviſed her to exert her utmoſt efforts, in order to baniſh that ſpirit of animoſity which had hitherto prevailed among the nobles; and, to ſtrengthen and confirm the reconciliation, which had been ſo lately and ſo happily accompliſhed.

He alledged, that raiſing forces for the defence of the king, at a time when there was not the leaſt appearance of danger, might revive the jealouſy and ſuſpicion of thoſe noblemen who had been reconciled to her family: that their apprehenſion would naturally induce them to take meaſures for their own ſafety: and that one miſunderſtanding might occaſion another, until the whole kingdom ſhould be involved in civil war and confuſion.

In order to avert the impending danger, he earneſtly beſought her to diſmiſs her forces, that all the nobles of the kingdom might, without fear or ſuſpicion, pay their reſpects to their young ſovereign, and contribute with all that power towards the preſervation of the public peace.

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The queen had no reason to suspect the sincerity of Glocester, who had always behaved to her with the utmost respect, and discovered an uncommon zeal for the interest of her children; and she therefore considered his letter as the effect of his loyalty and good sense.

As he had not dropped the least hint of his intention to interfere with her in the administration of government, she followed his advice as the wholesome counsel of a faithful friend; and immediately dispatched an order to Rivers to dismiss his troops, that they might give no cause of offence to the nation.

The earl of Rivers complied with this injunction; and soon after set out with the king for London, accompanied only by his ordinary domestics. Young Edward was met by the dukes of Glocester and Buckingham in the neighbourhood of Northampton, into which they had thrown a body of nine hundred men; and they saluted him with all the marks of the most profound respect and submission.

Glocester observed, that as the town of Northampton was crowded with strangers, and but ill supplied with provisions, his majesty would be better accommodated at Stony-Stratford, about twelve miles farther on the road to London.

His propoſal being reliſhed, they invited the earl of Rivers to ſpend the evening with them at their lodgings; and he attended them to Northampton, glad of an opportunity to cement the late reconciliation by this mark of confidence.

They paſſed a good part of the night in ſeeming harmony and mutual proteſtations of friendſhip and regard; but next morning they cauſed him to be arreſted, and ſet out for Stony-Stratford, where they found the king ready to continue his journey.

Before they left that place, they began to quarrel with his uterine brother Sir Richard Grey, who, they alledged, in conjunction with the marquis of Dorſet and the earl of Rivers, had laid a plot to make themſelves maſters of the king's perſon; and they further aſſerted, that the marquis had applied to his own uſe the treaſure of the late king, with which he was entruſted.

Edward, young as he was, thought proper to interpoſe on this occaſion: he ſaid, that he would not undertake to vindicate the conduct of the marquis of Dorſet, of which he was entirely ignorant; but that he would anſwer for his uncle Rivers and his brother Richard, who had always attended him ſince his father's deceaſe.

The duke of Buckingham replied, that they were too artful to let his majeſty into their ſecrets; and immediately commanded his followers to arreſt the perſons of Sir Richard Grey, and Sir Thomas Vaughan.

The king was carried back to Northampton; and the next day the priſoners were committed to the caſtle of Pontefract, notwithſtanding the entreaties and tears of Edward which flowed in abundance, though they ſtill continued to behave to him with great reſpect and ſubmiſſion.

The queen was no ſooner apprized of theſe proceedings, than ſhe at once conceived the whole deſign of the duke of Glouceſter, and conſidering her brother and two ſons as totally loſt, fled for refuge to the abbey of Weſtminſter, accompanied by the duke of York, who was about nine years of age, the marquis of Dorſet, and the reſt of her children.

The lord Haſtings having received intelligence of the affair at Northampton, repaired directly to the houſe of the archbiſhop of York, to whom he imparted the tidings; aſſuring him, at the ſame time, that no violence would be offered to the perſon of the king, to whom, indeed, he was ſincerely devoted, without knowing the whole extent of Glouceſter's project.

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The good prelate aroſe immediately from his bed; and, though it was midnight, went to viſit the queen, whom he found ſitting on the cold floor, overwhelmed with grief and affliction, and bitterly lamenting the fate of her children.

He endeavoured to comfort her with the aſſurances of Haſtings's protection; but as that nobleman, though a ſincere friend to Edward's children, had always lived at variance with the queen, ſhe could derive no conſolation from that quarter.

Then he declared, that if her enemies ſhould be cruel enough to deprive the king of his life, he would inſtantly crown the duke of York; and as a proof of his ſincerity, he delivered the great ſeal into her hands; but afterwards reflecting, that he ought not to have parted with that mark of the late king's confidence, he begged it might be returned, and ſhe readily complied with his requeſt.

Mean while, the citizens of London, being informed of the tranſaction at Northampton, exclaimed with great vehemence againſt the conduct of the duke of Glouceſter; and many of them took to their arms, without knowing what would be the conſequence of theſe proceedings. But their fears were allayed by the lord Haſtings,

who aſſured them that no harm was intended to the king; and that Rivers and Grey had been arreſted for a conſpiracy againſt the lives of the dukes of Glouceſter and Buckingham; but, that they would be brought to a fair and equitable trial.

In a few days after this commotion, the king was conducted to London, which he entered amidſt the acclamations of the citizens, attended by a great number of noblemen, and, among others, by the duke of Glouceſter, who, like a thorough-paced hypocrite as he was, rode behind him bareheaded, and frequently called out to the people, "behold your prince and ſove-"reign."

He was lodged in the biſhop's palace, as a place of ſafety, under the protection of the citizens; and this mark of confidence, together with the regard that was ſhewn to the king's perſon, entirely removed the ſuſpicions which the affair of Northampton had occaſioned.

Immediately after the rejoicings on the king's arrival, the duke of Glouceſter ſummoned a great council of the nobility, to ſettle the adminiſtration; and, as this conſiſted chiefly of his own friends, he was choſen protector of the kingdom; though the council, on this occaſion, uſurped a pre-

prerogative which belonged to the parliament.

Richard was no ſooner advanced to this high dignity, than he took the great ſeal from the archbiſhop of York, and gave it to the biſhop of Lincoln; and beſtowed upon his own creatures, all thoſe places which had been poſſeſſed by the queen's adherents.

He then made a motion in council, that a deputation ſhould be ſent to entreat the queen to permit the duke of York to attend his brother, and aſſiſt at the coronation.

He alledged, that Elizabeth's taking refuge in the ſanctuary, betrayed a diſtruſt, which might create jealouſies, and revive factions, to the great prejudice and detriment of the nation; that the circumſtance of York's continuing in the aſylum, while his brother received the crown, would make all foreign princes conceive a very unfavourable idea of the government; and that it was more than probable, that the queen's deſign was to eſcape from the ſanctuary, and throw the kingdom into combuſtion, on pretence of defending her ſecond ſon from violence.

He therefore propoſed, that the archbiſhop of Canterbury ſhould endeavour to pre-

vail upon the queen to part with the duke of York; and that, ſhould ſhe refuſe to gratify the council in this particular, the duke ſhould be taken from her by force.

The primate engaged to uſe all his influence to perſuade her into a compliance; but vehemently exclaimed againſt the propoſal for violating the ſanctuary, which had been ſo long held ſacred. The duke of Buckingham enlarged, at great length, upon the abuſe of ſanctuaries, and ſeconded the opinion of the protector, which was approved by all the reſt of the council, the eccleſiaſtics alone excepted.

The cardinal archbiſhop, repairing to the queen, exerted all his eloquence and addreſs, in perſuading her that ſhe ought to give up the duke of York; and, finding her proof againſt all his arguments, he plainly told her that the council had reſolved to take him from the ſanctuary by open force.

The unhappy mother, alarmed at this declaration, acquainted the cardinal with her ſuſpicions of Glouceſter, whom ſhe accuſed of a deſign upon the crown, which he could not accompliſh without having both her ſons in his power.

The archbiſhop, who was an entire ſtranger to the ambitious projects of Richard,

ard, was highly offended at the queen's inſinuations; and told her, with great warmth, that her ſuſpicions were injurious to the character of a prince who was ſincerely attached to the intereſt of his ſovereign, as well as to the honour of the nobility and prelates in council, who could not be ſo wicked as to concur in any deſign of that nature.

He obſerved, that, without their conſent and aſſiſtance, the protector would find it impoſſible to ſucceed in his ſcheme; though for his own part, he was fully ſatisfied that no thought of that kind had ever entered into the head of the duke of Glouceſter.

The good prelate was really convinced of the protector's integrity, and, of conſequence, ſpoke with the greater warmth and vehemence, by which means he at laſt prevailed upon the queen to agree to his propoſal. Accordingly, taking her ſon in her arms, and embracing him with all the eagerneſs of maternal affection, ſhe delivered him into the hands of the archbiſhop, by whom he was conducted to the protector; and Richard received him with all the marks of paternal tenderneſs, and begged he would conſider him as his guardian and father.

The two young princes ſeemed to be extremely well pleaſed at meeting, and began to think their uncle had a real regard for their intereſt: but they were ſoon convinced of their miſtake; for, in a few days, they were removed from the biſhop's palace to the Tower, from whence the kings of England uſed to ride in proceſſion through the ſtreets of London, to their coronation at Weſtminſter; a cuſtom which now gave Glouceſter a pretext for committing his nephews to cloſe cuſtody.

It was at this juncture that Richard is generally ſuppoſed to have imparted his deſigns to the duke of Buckingham, who was a nobleman of bad principles, and therefore readily embarked in the project of Glouceſter, who promiſed to reward his ſervices with a grant of certain lands in Herefordſhire, a preſent of the late king's wardrobe, and a patent for intailing on him, and his heirs for ever, the office of conſtable of England.

The protector having engaged Buckingham in his intereſt, determined to rid his hands of the priſoners at Pontefract, whoſe death would deprive the royal family of their chief ſupport. For this purpoſe, he diſpatched an order to Sir Thomas Radcliffe, governor of that fortreſs, who, as he was a mere

mere creature of the protector's, readily obeyed his injunction.

He had already levied a body of five thouſand men for the ſervice of Richard; ſo that having nothing to fear from the reſentment of the people in the neighbourhood, he ordered the earl of Rivers, Sir Richard Grey, and Sir Thomas Vaughan, to be beheaded without any form of trial.

Mean while, the duke of Glouceſter endeavoured to engage in his ſervice a great number of profligate and abandoned perſons, deſtitute of every principle of virtue and religion, who would execute all his orders, however cruel or wicked, without fear or ſcruple.

While he privately enliſted this band of deſperadoes, he ſtill preſerved an appearance of loyalty, pretending to prepare for the coronation of his nephew, at which he ſummoned all gentlemen poſſeſſed of forty pounds a year, to attend and receive the honour of knighthood.

He next reſolved to deviſe ſome expedient for excluding the children of Edward from the throne, as well as thoſe of Clarence, who ſtood between him and the object of his hopes. When a reſolution is once formed, pretences are eaſily contrived for carrying it into execution.

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His emiſſaries began to prepare the minds of the people for the ſcenes which enſued by ſpreading malicious reports to the prejudice of his mother's character. They inſinuated, that the old dutcheſs of York had violated the honour of the marriage-bed; and that neither Edward nor Clarence were the ſons of their ſuppoſed father; whereas Richard bore his expreſs image both in the lineaments of his face, and the diſpoſitions of his mind.

Not ſatisfied with defaming the character of a lady, who had hitherto led an irreproachable life, they fixed the imputation of baſtardy on Edward's children, on account of the pretended marriage by which they alledged he was previouſly affianced to Elizabeth Lucy.

They maintained, that the act of attainder, paſſed againſt the duke of Clarence, had virtually incapacitated his children from ſucceeding to the throne; and they affirmed that Richard was not only the true heir of blood, but was likewiſe a prince endued with every accompliſhment that could adorn a crown.

Theſe reports were ſcattered with ſo much art and induſtry, that they were believed by the lower claſs of people, while they gave great cauſe of offence to thoſe noblemen

blemen who wiſhed well to the family of the late king, and particularly to the lord Haſtings, who was ſtill an utter ſtranger to the ambitious views of Richard.

The protector was not ignorant of his ſentiments; but he had hitherto maintained a friendly correſpondence with him, on account of his great influence among the citizens of London; nor did he deſpair of being one day able to engage him in his intereſt.

He likewiſe endeavoured to live upon good terms with the two archbiſhops, the biſhop of Ely, and the lord Stanley, who were ſincerely devoted to the two young princes, becauſe he found his advantage in their countenance and protection; and he determined to wear the maſque until he ſhould have no further need of their aſſiſtance.

In order to amuſe them in the mean time, he appointed a day for the coronation of Edward, and divided the council into two bodies, on pretence of proceeding with the greater diſpatch in making the neceſſary preparations for that ſolemnity.

His own creatures aſſembled at Weſtminſter, attended by Edmund Shaw the mayor of London, who was blindly attached to the protector's intereſt, while the noblemen that eſpouſed the cauſe of Edward, were convened

vened in an apartment of the Tower, where they met every day to forward the preparations.

They ſoon found, that obſtacles were raiſed on purpoſe to retard the execution of their orders: that very few perſons had acceſs to the king, who was attended by a ſmall number of domeſtics, while his uncle was continually encompaſſed by crowds of courtiers, whom he treated with a degree of complaiſance which ſeemed to be contrary to his natural character.

Theſe circumſtances, joined to the affected delays of the coronation, alarmed the lord Stanley, who now began to ſuſpect the duke of Glouceſter of having formed a deſign upon the crown. He freely ſignified his ſuſpicions to his colleagues; and as the reſolutions of the other council were kept a profound ſecret, propoſed, that they ſhould immediately agree upon ſome plan for enſuring the ſafety of his majeſty's perſon.

The lord Haſtings, who was fully convinced that the protector's only aim was to humble the queen's faction, removed theſe juſt ſuſpicions, by affirming that there was nothing to be feared from the other council; and offered to ſtake his head, that if they ſhould do any thing to the detriment

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of the king or nation, he ſhould be apprized of it by one of the members, in whoſe judgment and fidelity he could entirely confide.

This was his friend and confident Cateſby; but little did he think that this man betrayed him, and was heartily embarked in the ſchemes of the protector. The lord Stanley and his colleagues ſuffered themſelves to be perſuaded by the aſſurances of Haſtings, whoſe intelligence they preferred to their own obſervations; and thus loſt the opportunity, which they could never afterwards recover, of defeating the wicked deſigns of the duke of Glouceſter.

Mean while, Richard thought it was now high time, either to engage Haſtings in his intereſt, or to remove him out of the vay by a ſpeedy death; for which purpoſe he deſired Cateſby to ſound that nobleman about his opinion of the protector's title, which then happened to be the general topic of converſation.

Haſtings not only diſproved the illegitimacy of Edward and his children; but declared, that he would uſe all his power and intereſt, and even ſpend the laſt drop of his blood in maintaining the cauſe of the young princes againſt all their enemies.

This declaration was immediately reported to the protector, who being extremely anxious to gain over Haſtings to his

ſide, commanded Cateſby to try him once more, and even to hint the ſcheme that was laid for the excluſion of his nephews.

Cateſby, in this ſecond conference, found him more than ever reſolved to oppoſe any attempt that ſhould be made againſt the rights or lives of his maſter's children; and, for that very reaſon, Richard doomed him to inſtant deſtruction.

In order to accompliſh his wicked purpoſe, he went in the morning to the council in the Tower, where he talked to the members with great affability, and after ſome ſtay retired, deſiring they would continue their deliberations, and give the laſt direction concerning the ſolemnity of the coronation, which had been too long poſtponed.

In about an hour after his departure, he returned with a furious aſpect, knitting his brows, biting his lips, and exhibiting all the marks of the moſt violent indignation. After a ſhort pauſe, "My lords," ſaid he, "what puniſhment do thoſe deſerve who "have plotted againſt my life?"

The whole council was amazed at this queſtion; and the lord Haſtings anſwered, in the name of the reſt, that whoever was guilty of ſuch a crime deſerved to ſuffer the death of a traitor. Before the members had

had time to recover from their ſurprize, he bared his left arm which was withered, and ſhewing it to the council. "Behold," ſaid he, "what that ſorcereſs my brother's "wife, and the accurſed Shore have done "by their incantations and witchcraft! "they have reduced this arm to the con- "dition in which you now ſee it; and the "reſt of my body muſt have been con- "ſumed in the ſame manner, if, by the "ſingular protection of heaven, their infa- "mous practices had not been diſcovered "and prevented."

Theſe words increaſed their aſtoniſhment and terror, as they knew his arm had always been in that ſhrivelled condition; and as they were fully convinced, that if the queen had formed any ſuch deſign, ſhe would not have imparted it to Jane Shore, who had been the miſtreſs of her huſband, and who now lived on the ſame terms with the lord Haſtings, who was the queen's declared enemy.

This nobleman, who was anxiouſly concerned for the welfare of that lady, and who entertained ſome doubt of the truth of the information, obſerved, that if they were guilty they ought to be puniſhed. "How," cried the protector in a furious paſſion, "do'ſt thou anſwer me with thy

"Ifs and thy Ands, as if I had forged the "accuſation? I tell thee, they have con- "ſpired againſt my life, and thou thyſelf "art one of their accomplices." So ſaying, he ſtruck the table with his hand, and immediately a number of armed men ruſhed into the apartment: then turning to Haſtings, he ſaid; "I arreſt thee for high- "treaſon." "Who, me, my lord!" replied the unhappy nobleman: "Yes, thee, "thou traitor," exclaimed the protector, and inſtantly ordered him to be ſeized by the ſoldiers.

This affair produced a tumult in the hall, during which one of the guards endeavoured to cleave the head of lord Stanley with a battle-axe, on pretence of keeping the peace, but he happily miſſed his aim; and Stanley, by ſlinking under the table, ſaved his life, at the expence of a dangerous wound.

Nevertheleſs, he was apprehended, together with the archbiſhop of York and the biſhop of Ely; but as for Haſtings, Richard was ſo bent upon his ruin, that he ſwore he would not dine until his head ſhould be brought him; ſo that having made a ſhort confeſſion to the firſt prieſt he could find, he was forthwith beheaded on a log of timber.

Richard,

Richard, recollecting that Haſtings was extremely popular among the citizens of London, thought it moſt prudent to make ſome apology for his ſudden execution, and ſent a meſſage to the mayor and aldermen, requiring their immediate attendance in the Tower.

Mean while, he and Buckingham caſed themſelves up in ruſty armour; and when the magiſtrates of London came to the Tower, in compliance with his meſſage, he aſſured them that the lord Haſtings, and ſome others, had formed a plot againſt his life.

He ſaid, he had not been apprized of their deſign till ten in the morning, when the evidence againſt them ſeemed ſo ſtrong and convincing, that the king and council found it abſolutely neceſſary to put Haſtings to immediate death, as they were informed that a great number of people were ready to riſe in his favour: that, in ſuch a dangerous dilemma, he had been obliged, for the ſafety of his perſon, to put on the firſt armour he could find; and that he had ſent for them to be witneſſes of the truth, that they might acquaint the people, and prevent or appeaſe the commotions which ill affected perſons might endeavour to excite in the city.

The mayor was a mere creature of the protector's, and, of course, was easily satisfied with any apology; and the aldermen, though equally surprized and incensed at the falsity and impudence of the story, durst not discover their sentiments, as they well knew they were within the paws of the lion: they therefore promised to obey his order, and retired with great precipitation, glad that they had not shared the fate of the unhappy Hastings.

In a few hours after this conference, a proclamation was published in the king's name, importing, that, as the lord Hastings had formed a conspiracy to seize the king's person, and kill the protector and the duke of Buckingham, that he might rule the nation according to his own pleasure, the king, in order to prevent these fatal calamities, had, by the advice of his council, punished him without delay: that no person was ever more worthy of the death of a traitor than Hastings, who had persuaded the late king to take so many steps prejudicial to the liberty and privileges of the people: that he had been the author and companion of Edward's debaucheries: and that he had spent the last night with Jane Shore, the accomplice of all his crimes, and of that in particular for which he suffered.

This

This proclamation contained many other reflections on the character of Haſtings, calculated to leſſen the affection which the people had always entertained for that nobleman, and prevent their compaſſion for his untimely death; but it did not produce the deſired effect. It was remarked, that it was elegantly compoſed, and fairly written on parchment; a circumſtance which created a ſuſpicion that it was previouſly prepared, in order to be publiſhed immediately after the execution: and it was wittily obſerved by a merchant on that occaſion, that the proclamation was certainly drawn by the ſpirit of prophecy.

In order to give ſome colour of juſtice to theſe barbarous proceedings, the protector cauſed the effects of Jane Shore to be ſeized, and herſelf to be ſummoned before the council, to anſwer for the crime of ſorcery and enchantment. But, as no proof, which could be received even in that ignorant age, could be produced againſt her, he ordered her to be tried in the ſpiritual court, for her adulteries and incontinence; crimes not new, and known to all the world.

It was therefore matter of indignation and ridicule to the people, to ſee the charge of treaſon and witchcraft, of which ſhe had been accuſed, terminate in a penance for her

her lewdneſs, which ſhe was obliged to perform by walking in proceſſion from the biſhop's palace to St. Paul's church, cloathed in a white ſheet, with a taper in her hand, and a croſs carried before her.

This puniſhment ſhe underwent with a behaviour ſo graceful, and yet ſo reſigned, and her complexion, which was naturally pale, received ſuch an agreeable bluſh from a ſenſe of ſhame, that the penalty of her crime became, in a manner, a triumph over the hearts of the ſpectators.

This lady was born of reputable parents in London, was well educated, and married to a ſubſtantial citizen; but, unhappily for her character, views of intereſt had been more conſulted than the maid's inclinations; and her heart, though naturally virtuous, had been captivated by the charms of the gay and amorous Edward, who ſollicited her favours.

But, though debauched from her duty by this wanton and licentious monarch, ſhe ſtill preſerved the eſteem of the world by her many, great, and amiable virtues; and the influence which ſhe at firſt acquired and always maintained over the king, was wholly employed in acts of beneficence and charity. She was ſtill forward to oppoſe calumny, to protect the oppreſſed, and to relieve

relieve the indigent; and her good offices, the natural reſult of her tender heart, never waited the ſolicitation of preſents, or the hopes of mutual favours; but ſhe lived not only to feel the bitterneſs of ſhame impoſed on her by this cruel and barbarous tyrant, but to experience, in old age and poverty, the ingratitude of thoſe courtiers who had long been ſupported by her friendſhip, and protected by her credit.

Of all thoſe whom ſhe had formerly obliged, no one appeared to bring her conſolation or relief: ſhe languiſhed out her life in ſolitude and indigence: and, in a court where crimes of the deepeſt dye were common and familiar, the frailties of this woman were deemed a ſufficient apology for all that rigour and barbarity with which ſhe was treated.

Nor was Richard ſatisfied with having ſtripped this unhappy woman of her little ſubſtance, and expoſed her to the ſeverity of public ſhame; he even made it penal for any one to furniſh her with lodging, or the common neceſſaries of life.

But, notwithſtanding his cruel orders, ſhe ſtill found relief from ſome private perſons, and was even alive in the reign of Henry VIII. when Sir Thomas More knew her; though that gentleman adds, that ſhe was then without

without any remains of her former beauty, except the elegance of her perſon and the regularity of her features, which no years nor calamities could utterly deſtroy.

The late executions at London and Pontefract, without any form of trial, together with the impriſonment of the archbiſhop of York, the biſhop of Ely, and the lord Stanley, plainly diſcovered that the protector had formed a deſign upon the crown; and the whole kingdom was thrown into the utmoſt terror and conſternation.

This was a juncture at which he determined to declare his intention; but, as he wiſhed to have the approbation of the Londoners, he conſulted with his confident the duke of Buckingham, about the means of obtaining this advantage. They agreed to exert their utmoſt endeavours, in perſuading the people that the children of Edward were illegitimate; and they imagined that thoſe whom their emiſſaries could not convince, would be reſtrained by fear from attempting to undeceive their neighbours.

Doctor Ralph Shaw, the mayor's brother, preached a ſermon at St. Paul's croſs, from theſe words: "Baſtard ſlips ſhall take no "deep root." He not only expatiated upon Edward's previous marriage with Elizabeth Lucy, but likewiſe inſiſted upon the illegitimacy

gitimacy of Edward himſelf, and his brother Clarence, who, he aſſerted, were begotten by perſons whom the dutcheſs of York received to her bed in the abſence of her huſband. "But, my lord protector," continued he, with an elevated voice, "that noble prince, that pattern of all virtue, carries in his air, his countenance, "his diſpoſition, and in his whole behaviour, the expreſs image of his illuſtrious "father."

At theſe words Glouceſter intended to have entered the congregation, in hope that, moved by the eloquence of the preacher, they would have ſaluted him as king. The duke, however, did not arrive, until the doctor had finiſhed his encomium, and began to handle another topic.

Nevertheleſs, ſeeing the protector approach, he reſumed the ſubject, and extolled his virtues, with the moſt fulſome exaggeration, while Richard walked thro' the crowd to his place.

But, inſtead of hearing, as he wiſhed and expected, the acclamation of, "Long live "king Richard!" he ſaw the people hang their heads in ſullen ſilence, equally enraged at his impudence and the venality of the preacher, who loſt all his popularity by this ſhameful proſtitution of his talent.

Shaw's

Shaw's ſermon having produced no effect, the duke of Buckingham, who was noted for his eloquence, undertook to harangue the people on the Tueſday following at Guildhall: there the aldermen and common council being convened by the lord mayor, the duke reſumed the ſubject which doctor Shaw had treated with ſo little ſucceſs.

He ſaid, the lords in council, and the commons of the kingdom had reſolved that no baſtard ſhould ever poſſeſs the throne of England, and deſired that the crown ſhould be adjudged to the duke of Glouceſter, the only ſon of the late duke of York: he added, there was reaſon to fear that magnanimous prince would refuſe the offer; but he hoped, that, if all the people, eſpecially the citizens of London, would join in their ſolicitations, Richard might be perſuaded to aſſume the weighty burden of government, which was too heavy for the ſhoulders of an infant.

He therefore begged, in his own name, and that of the council, that they would give their opinion: and here he ſtopped, in hopes of hearing them cry out, "king Richard!" but, to his great ſurprize and diſappointment, the people obſerved a profound ſilence. He repeated his diſcourſe with

with ſome variation; but they ſtill continued mute and melancholy.

He then ſignified his diſpleaſure to the mayor, who told him that the people were only accuſtomed to be harangued by the recorder, who was the city orator. This officer being commanded to ſpeak on the ſame ſubject, recapitulated all that the duke had ſaid; and at laſt deſired them to give a poſitive anſwer, whether or not they would have the duke of Glouceſter for their king.

At theſe words a confuſed murmur ran through the multitude; and ſome of the duke's ſervants having found means to get into the hall, cried out, "Long live king "Richard!" this acclamation was ſeconded by a few burghers, who had been previouſly bribed for the purpoſe; and the rabble and apprentices who ſtood at the gate, threw up their hats, calling out king Richard! king Richard!

Buckingham commanding ſilence, told them, he was glad to find that his propoſal had been ſo univerſally approved; and begged they would meet him next day at the ſame time and place, that they might go in company and preſent an humble petition to his highneſs, intreating him to aſcend the throne, and manage the reins of government.

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At the time appointed, the duke of Buckingham, with the mayor, aldermen, and a great number of the protector's partisans, went to Baynard's Castle, where he resided, in order to present an address, in the name of the three estates, declaring the bastardy of Edward's children, and beseeching him to accept the crown, which was his lawful inheritance.

Richard affected to be alarmed at such a concourse of people, as if he had imagined his person was in danger; and when at length Buckingham persuaded him to give them an audience, he came forth with all the symptoms of fear and apprehension.

He pretended to be greatly surprized at their proposal, which he refused to accept, adding, that he loved his brother's children above all the crowns in the world; though, he said, he was infinitely obliged to them for this instance of their love and affection, of which he would ever retain a most grateful remembrance. He advised them to live peaceably under that sovereign to whom they owed their allegiance; and he engaged for his own part, that he would exhort his nephew to govern in such a manner, as might render them a happy and flourishing people.

The

The duke of Buckiegham ſeemed to be much diſpleaſed with this anſwer, and declared, that the people were firmly determined that none of Edward's children ſhould enjoy the throne of England; and that, if he refuſed to accept the crown, they would be under a neceſſity of giving it to ſome other perſon.

This declaration conquered the obſtinacy of the modeſt and loyal Richard; and, with a hypocritical reluctance, he conſented to comply with their requeſt.

He told them that ſince they were reſolved to exclude the children of Edward, he was willing, more for the good of the nation than his own intereſt, to accept the crown, which was certainly his true inheritance, though he received it with greater pleaſure as the unſolicited gift of a free and generous people; and from that moment he began to act as the legitimate and lawful ſovereign of England.

This ridiculous farce was ſucceeded by a ſcene truly tragical; namely, the murder of the two infant princes. Richard ſent orders to Sir Robert Brakenbury, conſtable of the tower, to diſpatch his nephews without delay; but this officer, who was a man of honour and integrity, nobly diſdained to have any concern in the infamous deed.

The tyrant then ſent Sir James Tyrrel, who engaged to obey his injunction; and he commanded Brakenbury to deliver up to this gentleman the keys of the Tower for one night. Tyrrel, taking three accomplices, Slater, Dighton, and Forreſt, repaired in the night to the chamber where the princes lay; and, ſending in the aſſaſſins, he ordered them to execute their commiſſion, while he himſelf ſhould ſtand at the door. They found the young princes in bed, and fallen into a ſound ſleep. After having ſmothered them, with the bolſter and pillows, they ſhewed their naked bodies to Tyrrel, who cauſed them to be buried under a ſtair-caſe, and the grave to be covered with a heap of ſtones.

All theſe circumſtances were fully diſcovered, in the following reign, by the confeſſion of the aſſaſſins themſelves, who yet were never puniſhed for the barbarous crime: perhaps the reaſon was, becauſe Henry, who was of a very arbitrary and deſpotic temper, wanted to eſtabliſh it as a maxim, that the commands of the reigning ſovereign ſhould be deemed a ſufficient excuſe for any enormity committed by a ſubject.

But there is another circumſtance attending this affair, which is more unaccountable and

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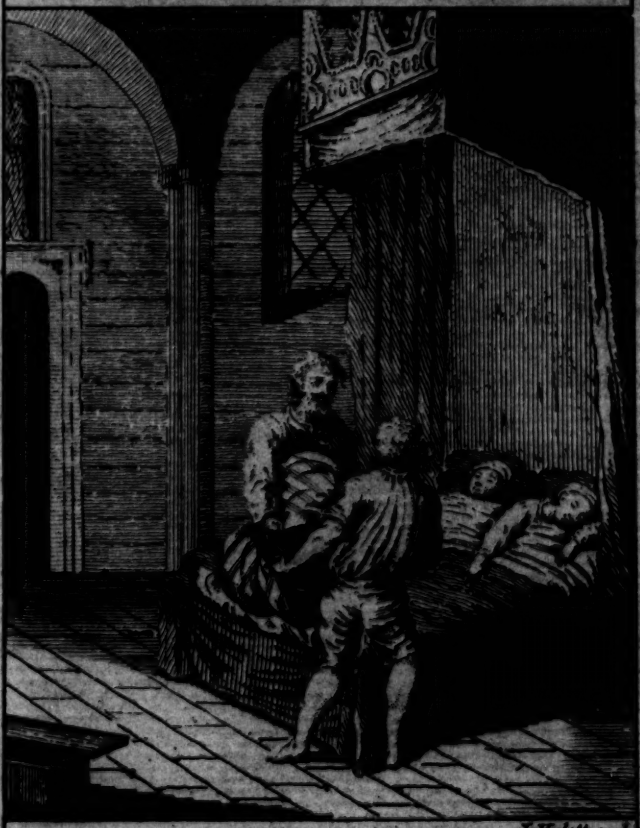
KING EDWARD V & his Brother
Murder'd in the Tower



J. Hulett sculp.

Engrav'd for Rider's History of England.

and perplexed. It is alledged, that Richard, diſſatisfied with the indecent interment of his nephews, whom he had murdered, gave orders to his chaplain to take up the bodies, and bury them in conſecrated ground; and, as the prieſt died ſoon after, the place of their burial could never be found, notwithſtanding all the reſearches that were made for it by Henry VII.

Nevertheleſs, in the reign of Charles II. when there was occaſion to remove ſome ſtones, and dig into the very place where they were ſaid to have been firſt interred, the bones of two ſmall ſkeletons were found; which, by their ſize, correſponded exactly to the age of Edward and his brother: they were univerſally believed to be the remains of thoſe young princes, and were depoſited under a marble monument in Weſtminſter-abbey, by the orders of king Charles.

Perhaps, the difficulty may be ſolved by ſuppoſing, that Richard's chaplain died before he was able to execute his maſter's injunction; and, as the bodies were thought to be already removed, Henry's miniſtry did not make a careful ſearch for them in the place where they were at firſt interred.

Such was the premature and untimely fate of Edward V. king of England, and his brother Richard duke of York, who fell a ſacrifice to the ſavage cruelty, and boundleſs ambition, of a blood-thirſty and barbarous tyrant; for which, however, and for all his other crimes, he met with a juſt and condign puniſhment, as we ſhall ſee in the hiſtory of the ſucceeding reign.

RICHARD III. ſurnamed CROOK-BACK. A.D. 1483.

THE firſt care of Richard, after his acceſſion to the throne, was to reward thoſe who had aſſiſted him in his treaſonable attempt, and to gain over ſuch as, he imagined, were beſt able to ſupport him in his future government.

He conferred the office of chancellor upon the biſhop of Lincoln; he inveſted the lord John Howard with the poſt of mareſchal, together with the title of duke of Norfolk; and the next day appointed him high-conſtable for the coronation. His ſon, Thomas Howard, was honoured with the title of earl of Surrey: William Berkley was advanced to

the

RICHARD III.

Engrav'd for Rider's History of England.

BRITISH
MUSEUM

the earldom of Nottingham: and lord Lovel, one of Richard's chief confidents, was promoted to the rank of viſcount.

Thomas Rotherham, archbiſhop of York, was releaſed from priſon; and the lord Stanley was not only ſet at liberty, but even appointed ſteward of the houſhold: not that Richard had any real affection for this nobleman, but this act of favour was the effect of his fear; for Stanley's ſon, the lord Strange, had began to raiſe forces in Lincolnſhire; and Richard thought this the moſt likely means of preventing the danger of a rebellion.

The univerſity of Oxford interceded in behalf of the biſhop of Ely; and, though the new king bore an irreconcileable hatred to that prelate, he would not, in the commencement of his reign, offend ſuch a venerable body by a flat denial: nor would he reſtore the biſhop to the full enjoyment of his liberty; but he choſe a medium, and committed him to the cuſtody of the duke of Buckingham, who ſent him to his caſtle of Brecknock in Wales.

On the ſixth day of July, he, and Anne his queen, daughter of Richard earl of Warwick, were crowned with great pomp and ſolemnity at Weſtminſter. All the peers of the realm attended at this ceremony, that they

they might not, by their abſence, incur the ſuſpicion of the new king, with whoſe jealous temper they were ſo well acquainted, and whoſe cruel diſpoſition they had ſo much reaſon to dread; and the queen's train was borne up by Margaret counteſs of Richmond, wife of lord Stanley, and mother to the earl of Richmond, then in exile in Brittany.

Richard now ſeemed to be firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne. There was not a nobleman in the kingdom who had power ſufficient to excite the leaſt commotion, except thoſe who were firmly attached to his intereſt. The queen dowager, with her five daughters, and her brother the marquis of Dorſet, ſtill continued in the ſanctuary; and Sir Richard Wideville was obliged to ſcreen himſelf from the vengeance of the new monarch, by living in concealment.

Nevertheleſs, that he might ſtrengthen his power with foreign alliances, and ſecure himſelf againſt all hoſtile attempts from abroad, he diſpatched Bernard de la Force as his ambaſſador into Caſtile, to renew the ancient league with Ferdinand and Iſabella.

He named commiſſioners to treat with France about certain violations of the truce, that it might be renewed and confirmed: he

gave

gave a commiſſion to Thomas Hutton, to prolong the truce with Francis II. duke of Brittany; and this ambaſſador had full power to negociate a new treaty with that prince, touching his ſurrendering up the earl of Richmond.

Richard, having taken theſe prudent meaſures for ſecuring the friendſhip of foreign princes, reſolved to make a progreſs through the kingdom, and try, if poſſible, to reconcile the people to his government, and wipe out the memory of his former crimes, by a ſtrict and impartial adminiſtration of juſtice.

With this view he repaired to York, where he had the pleaſure of receiving Geoffry de Saſiola, ambaſſador from Spain, whom Ferdinand and Iſabel had ſent on purpoſe to confirm the ancient league between Caſtile and England.

He was ſo overjoyed to find his title recognized by that princeſs, who was ſprung from the houſe of Lancaſter, that he beſtowed the honour of knighthood upon the ambaſſador, and treated him with every mark of diſtinction: and he likewiſe wrote a very affectionate and reſpectful letter to their catholic majeſties, and even to their miniſters.

Before

Before he left York, he was a second time crowned in the cathedral of that city; and his son, a boy of ten years of age, was created prince of Wales with the usual formalities.

Here too he received the news of the death of Lewis XI. king of France, who was succeeded by his only son Charles VIII. a minor, under the guardianship of his sister Anne, wife of Philip de Bourbon, lord of Beaujeau: but the duke of Orleans, as first prince of the blood, laid claim to the regency; and the contest between him and Anne about that dignity, occasioned such disturbances in the French court, as prevented the renewal or confirmation of the truce with England, of which Richard was so extremely desirous.

While the king flattered himself with the hopes of enjoying a peaceable reign, the duke of Buckingham formed a dangerous conspiracy against his person and government. That nobleman had been the principal instrument of raising Richard to the throne; and his services had been rewarded with many marks of the royal favour.

But it was impossible, that friendship could long subsist between two persons so vicious in their principles, and so corrupt in their

their morals as were Richard and the duke of Buckingham. It is commonly ſuppoſed that their firſt quarrel was owing to the king's refuſing to put the duke in poſſeſſion of the eſtate of Hereford; but it appears, from records, that he paſſed a grant for that purpoſe, and that Buckingham's demands were fully gratified in this particular.

Perhaps, Richard was afraid to beſtow ſuch an immenſe property upon a man of ſo turbulent a character, and afterwards made ſome difficulty in executing the grant: perhaps he refuſed ſome other demands of Buckingham, whom he found it impoſſible to ſatisfy for his paſt ſervices; perhaps he determined, according to the common but wicked maxim of politicians, to embrace the firſt opportunity of deſtroying the man, who had been the chief means of his elevation; and the diſcovery of this deſign begot the firſt ſuſpicion in the breaſt of Buckingham.

Be this as it will, certain it is, that the duke, ſoon after Richard's acceſſion, repaired to his caſtle at Brecknock, where his diſcontent was preſently perceived by his priſoner, Moreton biſhop of Ely, a prelate of great ſagacity and penetration.

Moreton had formerly been a zealous friend of the family of Lancaſter, but yielded

ed to the torrent on the uſurpation of Richard, who found him uſeful in his affairs, and admitted him into his council. He ſtill preſerved the warmeſt attachment to the Lancaſtrian intereſt; and obſerving the reſentment of Buckingham, inſinuated himſelf into his confidence, by inveighing againſt Richard, whom he juſtly repreſented as a cruel and barbarous tyrant, who, not ſatisfied with having ſhed the beſt blood in the nation, and uſurped the crown, had completed his inhumanity by the murder of his two nephews.

Buckingham was well diſpoſed to liſten to theſe ſuggeſtions, and, in the violence of his paſſion, denounced vengeance againſt this monſter of vice and wickedneſs.

Moreton is ſaid to have adviſed him to claim the crown for himſelf, as ſprung from Anne, daughter of Thomas of Wodeſtoke, earl of Glouceſter, and third ſon of Edward III. but the duke reflecting, that, in ſuch a caſe, the friends of Henry earl of Richmond would unite with the houſe of York againſt him, refuſed to follow the biſhop's advice, and reſolved to eſpouſe the cauſe of that nobleman, who was the true heir of the houſe of Lancaſter.

He propoſed that Henry ſhould marry Elizabeth the eldeſt daughter of Edward IV.

and,

and, by this alliance, engage the two families in his intereſt. The biſhop approved the expedient, as at once conformable to juſtice and equity, and extremely well calculated to extinguiſh the flames of thoſe civil wars in which the kingdom had been ſo long involved.

Henry, earl of Richmond, as we have already remarked, was the ſon of a Welchman; but his mother Margaret was the daughter of John de Beaufort, duke of Somerſet, and grandſon of John of Ghent, duke of Somerſet. Margaret's father dying without male-iſſue, his younger brother Edmund enjoyed his title; but he and all his deſcendants having periſhed in the civil war, Margaret and her ſon were the only ſurviving branches of that family, and conſequently the heirs of the houſe of Lancaſter.

Nevertheleſs, their title was liable to one great objection: they were ſprung from Catharine Swinford, who had been the concubine, and was afterwards the wife of John of Ghent; and though her children were legitimated by act of parliament, and rendered capable of inheriting titles and eſtates, they were not permitted to aſſume the name of Plantagenet; nor did the act of their legitimation extend to their being made ca-

pable of ſucceeding to the crown: and even ſuppoſing the act had inveſted them with that right, they could hardly have pretended to come in competition with the deſcendants of the duke of Lancaſter by his lawful marriage, who amounted to ten or twelve different princes and princeſſes in Spain, Portugal, and Germany.

Theſe, however, appeared to be excluded from the throne, on account of their foreign extraction; and Richmond's right was tacitly owned by the frequent and ſtrenuous endeavours which Edward IV. and Richard uſed to get him in their poſſeſſion.

The intereſt of this nobleman muſt have been very conſiderable, and his title acknowledged by all the friends of the houſe of Lancaſter; otherwiſe it it is natural to think, that a man of Buckingham's ambition would have claimed the crown for himſelf.

At preſent he ſeems to have been ſolely influenced by a ſpirit of revenge againſt Richard; for we can hardly conceive that a perſon of his character, would embark in ſuch a dangerous enterprize from a nobler motive.

Whatever be in this, he and the biſhop, after ſeveral conferences, agreed that the whole hopes of ſucceſs in this project was

founded

founded on the marriage between Henry and Elizabeth; and that they ought to ſecure this alliance, as the neceſſary preliminary to all their future proceedings.

For this purpoſe, they determined to impart their ſcheme to the old counteſs of Richmond, that ſhe might inform her ſon of their deſign, and endeavour to procure the conſent of the queen dowager. The biſhop, being intimately acquainted with one Reginald Bray, a ſervant of the counteſs of Richmond, ſent for him to Brecknock, where he was let into the ſecret, and promiſed to engage his miſtreſs in the ſcheme.

This man had no ſooner departed, than the biſhop intreated the duke to allow him to repair to his dioceſe; but Buckingham alledged, that ſuch a ſtep would be extremely imprudent, as it would awaken the ſuſpicion of Richard.

The prelate, however, being now indulged in greater liberty than he had formerly enjoyed, took an opportunity to eſcape to Ely, and croſs the ſea to Flanders, from whence he ſent a letter to the duke, exhorting him to proceed in his enterprize, and aſſuring him, that he could be of more ſervice to him on the Continent, than in England.

This elopement he ſeems to have made, not from a ſpirit of treachery and deceit, nor for want of zeal for the cauſe he had eſpouſed, but merely from a regard to perſonal ſafety; for, as he knew the fire and impetuoſity of the duke's temper, he was afraid of being involved in ſome raſh attempt, that might have coſt him his life, before their deſign could be brought to maturity.

Mean while, the counteſs of Richmond being acquainted with their plan, ſent back Bray to the duke, to inform him that ſhe heartily approved of their ſcheme, and was greatly obliged to them for their friendly intentions: at the ſame time ſhe aſſured him, that ſhe would endeavour to procure the conſent of the queen dowager to the intended marriage.

She did not queſtion but ſhe ſhould eaſily ſucceed in this negociation, as the queen ſtill remained in the ſanctuary of Weſtminſter, bewailing the untimely death of her two ſons, and imploring heaven to take vengeance on their inhuman butcher.

As the counteſs was of the family of Lancaſter, and the queen belonged to the houſe of York, and of conſequence, in a political ſenſe, were declared enemies of each other, a per-

a perſonal interview might have occaſioned ſome jealouſy and ſuſpicion. She therefore deſired her phyſician, whoſe name was Lewis, to wait upon Elizabeth in the way of his profeſſion, and acquaint her with the ſcheme which was formed, in favour of her children, againſt the barbarous uſurper. Elizabeth liſtened to the propoſal with joy and rapture: ſhe aſſured him, that all the friends of her late huſband ſhould aſſiſt the earl of Richmond; but ſhe inſiſted upon that nobleman's engaging, by oath, to eſpouſe her daughter Elizabeth, or her younger ſiſter Cecily, in caſe the other ſhould die before marriage.

The ſcheme being thus ſettled between the queen dowager, the counteſs of Pembroke, and the duke of Buckingham, each of them began to awaken the zeal of their old friends, and to engage in their intereſt a number of new adherents: and, in this attempt, their endeavours were attended with uncommon ſucceſs.

Richard, by his cruel and barbarous behaviour, had expoſed himſelf to the hatred of the whole nation; and almoſt all the partiſans of the houſe of York, were enraged againſt him, on account of the murder of the two young princes: all the Lancaſtrians

readily embarked in a project that tended to replace a prince of that family on the throne of England: and moderate people, who were only concerned for the welfare of the public, could not fail to applaud a deſign, which, if ſucceſsful, would infallibly extinguiſh that ſpirit of civil diſcord and diſſenſion, with which the kingdom had been ſo long harraſſed and afflicted.

The duke of Buckingham, as the original author and chief conductor of the enterprize, employed his friends in Wales to enliſt men privately, that he might be able to take the field at once, as ſoon as it ſhould be neceſſary to avow his intention: at the ſame time, he entered into engagements with the gentlemen of Dorſetſhire, Devonſhire, and Cornwall, who undertook to aſſemble an army, and join the earl of Richmond at his firſt landing.

This was likewiſe his own deſign; while others of his adherents were ordered to raiſe inſurrections in different parts of the country, that Richard's forces might be divided, and his attention diſtracted by the multiplicity of danger. The marquis of Dorſet, who had lately left the ſanctuary, his brother Sir Richard Wideville, the biſhop of Exeter, his brother Sir Edward Courtney, and

and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, embarked in this enterprize.

The counteſs of Richmond diſpatched two meſſengers to her ſon in Brittany, to acquaint him with the ſcheme which had been formed in his favour, and the terms on which he was invited to land in England. He then lived at Vannes, where he had been kept ſeveral years in a kind of honourable confinement, in conſequence of the treaty concluded between the duke and Edward IV.

The earl was not more overjoyed at the reſolution which had been taken in his favour by his friends in England, than perplexed about the means of returning in a ſuitable manner to his native country.

He was no ſtranger to the convention between Edward IV. and the duke of Brittany, concerning the ſecurity of his perſon; and he knew that Richard had made ſome propoſals to the duke on the ſame ſubject: but as he could not avail himſelf of his good fortune without the concurrence of that prince, he freely imparted to him every particular of the ſcheme, and earneſtly entreated his friendſhip and aſſiſtance.

He found the duke more favourably inclined to his cauſe than he at firſt expected.

He

He had not entered into any agreement with Richard, whom he utterly abhorred for his tyranny and barbarous diſpoſition; and he had ſome pretenſions to the earldom of Richmond in England, which his anceſters had enjoyed, and which, he hoped, he might one day recover, provided the earl ſhould, by his means, be enabled to aſcend the throne of England. This is ſaid to have been the chief article of their agreement, in conſequence of which the duke engaged to ſupply him with men, money, and tranſports.

Henry having ſettled this point with the duke of Brittany, diſpatched a meſſenger with letters to his mother and the duke of Buckingham, acquainting them with the ſteps he had taken, and deſiring they would be ready to receive him in the beginning of October. This intelligence put all the conſpirators in motion; and each of them repaired to the poſt aſſigned him, in order to aſſemble forces, or raiſe inſurrections.

Cautious and circumſpect as they were in their proceedings, they could not conduct their ſchemes with ſo much ſecrecy as to eſcape the penetrating eye of Richard. He ſoon diſcovered that ſome plot was formed againſt him, though he was ſtill ignorant of the

the quarter from which the ſtorm was moſt likely to burſt.

He therefore advanced from York towards the heart of the kingdom; and iſſued orders in different counties, commanding the troops to be in readineſs to march at the firſt warning. He ſtrongly ſuſpected the duke of Buckingham to be the authour of theſe commotions, as he had left the court in diſguſt; was the only nobleman in England, who by his wealth, intereſt and capacity, could form and execute a ſcheme of that nature; and the eſcape of the biſhop of Ely had all the appearance of the duke's privacy and colluſion.

Alarmed by theſe reflexions, he ſent for the duke to court, that he might take his advice about ſome affairs of importance; and Buckingham deſired to be excuſed on pretence of indiſpoſition.

The king's ſuſpicions being greatly increaſed by this evaſion, he inſiſted upon ſeeing him, by a peremptory order that would admit of no apology; and to this the duke replied, that he did not think proper to expoſe his perſon, by putting himſelf in the power of his mortal enemy, on whoſe honour he neither could nor would depend.

After

After this declaration, he knew that no medium was to be kept, and that he must necessarily proceed to extremities. He, accordingly, collected his troops, and began his march towards the western counties, where the earl of Richmond proposed to land, and where he hoped to be reinforced by the rest of the confederates.

The End of the SIXTEENTH VOLUME.

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